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RADER'S

HISTORY OF MISSOURI

REVISED EDITION





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HISTORY OF MISSOURI

The
History of Missouri

*From the Earliest Times
to the Present*

REVISED EDITION



BY
Perry S. Rader

THE HUGH STEPHENS PRINTING & STATIONERY CO.
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PREFACE.

My History was the first school history of Missouri ever published. It had grown out of a conviction that I could not render a more valuable service to the boys and girls in school than by writing a connected narrative of the heroic deeds and great achievements of the great people who had built up their beloved commonwealth. When the State Text-Book Commission met in 1897 to adopt a series of books for use in public schools, I submitted it for adoption. One day I received a telegram from a Commissioner requesting me to come to Jefferson City where the Commission was in session. On my arrival I was told that no satisfactory book on the subject of Civil Government had been submitted, and that the Commissioners were pleased with my History but doubted their legal authority to adopt a history of Missouri as a separate study, since the law stated text-books on the subject of history of the United States and civil government should be adopted, but did not use the words "History of Missouri." They were of the opinion that if a civil government and history of Missouri could be combined into one book, it could, under the law, be adopted as a civil government, and it was suggested that I write a Civil Government, both of the United States and the State of Missouri, and submit it in manuscript form, along with an agreement to print it as the first part and the History as the second part of one combined book. I did so, and the one volume entitled "The Civil Government of the United States and State of Missouri and History of Missouri" was published, and at once found a large place in the schools. These facts explain why the Civil Government and History were first published as one book. Revised editions have since been issued and have been extensively used, and in all

of them this combination of the two books into one volume has been retained, and has met with such general approval by superintendents and teachers as an arrangement best adapted to the course of study prescribed for schools, that it has been retained in this last edition. However unusual the combination may be, it does not seem wise to depart from an arrangement that best fits in with the needs and work of the schools.

Within the last year the History has been thoroughly revised and brought down to date. One or two chapters have been entirely rewritten, because events and developments have required a different treatment. New and better cuts have been added. In every valuable sense, the History now offered is a new book.

It can be used either as a text, or as a supplementary reader. Every child in school who has reached the higher readers should be required to read it as a collateral reader. Maturer students, able to undertake the Civil Government, should be required to know its principal statements of facts. Even as to them some of it should be studied, and other parts simply carefully read; and the discriminating teacher will be able to designate what parts are for study and what for reading.

Again, as in the Civil Government, the questions at the end of chapters are not designed for use in recitations, but to aid pupils in centering their attention upon the facts they should accurately know.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Louis Houck, whose late comprehensive *History of Missouri* has greatly aided in clarifying certain historical facts, and to the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis for a recent picture of Laclede and other valuable favors.

THE AUTHOR.

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF MISSOURI

PART I.—FRENCH AND SPANISH PERIODS.

Chapters.	Page
I.—Discoveries	9
II.—The First Settlements	15
III.—Spanish Rule	19

PART II.—TERRITORIAL PERIOD.

Chapters.	Page
I.—The Louisiana Purchase	27
II.—Missouri's First Years as a Territory	31
III.—Exploring Expeditions	35
IV.—The New Madrid Earthquake	37
V.—Other Settlements	39

PART III.—MISSOURI AS A STATE.

Chapters.	Page
I.—The Admission of Missouri into the Union	51
II.—First Years as a State	59
III.—Bates and Miller—1824-32	64
IV.—Governor Dunklin's Administration—1832-36	71
V.—Governor Boggs and Mormon Troubles	74
VI.—The Administration of Reynolds and Marmaduke	83
VII.—The Administrations of Governors Edwards and King	89
VIII.—Benton and the Jackson Resolutions	98
IX.—From 1852 to 1860	102
X.—The Election of 1860	113
XI.—The First Months of 1861	117
XII.—The Convention	123
XIII.—The Arsenal and Camp Jackson	128
XIV.—Boonville, Carthage and Cowskin Prairie	139
XV.—The Battle of Wilson's Creek	144
XVI.—The Last Months of 1861	149
XVII.—From 1862 to 1864	153
XVIII.—The Administration of Governor Fletcher	164
XIX.—McClurg's Administration	173
XX.—The Administration of Governor Brown	177
XXI.—Governors Woodson and Hardin	184
XXII.—From 1877 to 1892	193
XXIII.—From 1892 to the Present Time	200

HISTORY OF MISSOURI

PART I.

FRENCH AND SPANISH PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERIES.

1. The First White Man.—The first white man to put foot on the soil of Missouri was Hernando De Soto, in 1541. De Soto was a Spaniard. He had been with Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, and had returned from his buccaneering ventures there to Spain with a fortune of a half million dollars. Hearing of the wonders of Florida and the country beyond it, that it abounded in gold and precious stones, he was fired with a passion for its conquest, and obtained permission from the king to fit out an expedition for this purpose at his own expense. It was more like a royal pageant than an exploring party or a conquering army. His force consisted of six hundred followers, twenty officers, and twenty-four ecclesiastics, all gorgeously arrayed in splendid armor. He landed in great pomp at Tampa bay in 1539, and driving a large number of cattle and hogs before him for food for his men, proceeded west. The Indians and forests interposed. His followers were not trained to overcome such hardships. Some were killed by the Indians, and others died from sickness. No gold was found. The Indians told him of fabulous amounts of it to be had on the Mississippi river. He

pressed forward and reached the river near Memphis, Tennessee, in 1541, and pursued his way north into the region now known as New Madrid county in our own State. He then moved west, crossed the Ozark mountains, and spent the winter on the prairies and plains beyond, all the time searching for gold and silver, but finding none. He moved southward into Arkansas, reached Hot Springs and White River, and then came back to the Mississippi, where he died in the spring of 1542. The Indians believed him to be the Son of the Sun, who could not die. His priests, to conceal his death, therefore, wrapped his body in a mantle, sunk it at night in the great river he had discovered, and chanted over it the first requiem ever heard in the Mississippi Valley. "The wanderer," says Bancroft, "had marched over a large part of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burying place." Most of his followers perished before they reached Spain.

2. French Explorations.—The Spaniards were untiring explorers and during the next hundred and fifty years several expeditions were organized in New Spain, as Mexico was then called, and sent across the plains in search of gold and of a mystic city far-famed among the Indians as of immense size and splendor and situated in the midst of a rich country abounding in gold and precious gems. To this city the Spaniards gave the name of Quivira (Ke-ve-ra) and among the leaders of expeditions who reached Missouri in search of it were Coronado in October, 1541, Humana in 1594, Onate in 1602 and Penalosa in 1662. There was no such city as the Indians along the Rio Grande had led them to believe; some of these explorers, however, notably Penalosa, claimed to have found, in some unascertainable place within the present boundaries of Missouri, a large Indian settlement, miles in extent and located in the midst of a wide region of very fertile lands. But the Spaniards were not the first settlers. On the contrary, they did nothing towards colonizing Missouri or

any part of the Mississippi Valley, and it was two hundred and twenty years after De Soto's death till they appeared on this territory with any show of right to the soil. Even the part they then took was unimportant. In the meantime the French, moved by a desire of doing missionary work among the Indians and enticed by the profitable fur trade, had pushed many hundred miles further west than had the English settlers along the Atlantic coast; had, from their homes in Canada, penetrated the forests around the Great Lakes, made several explorations of the Mississippi, and taken possession of the country in the name of France. One of the most interesting facts in all history is the slowness with which the men of northern Europe and along the Atlantic coast came to a comprehension of the great size of North America. For a long period of time it was the general belief among them, especially in Canada, that there was a great river somewhere west of the Alleghany Mountains that emptied, not into the Gulf of Mexico, but into the "South Sea," by which was meant the Pacific Ocean, or more probably into the "Vermilion Sea," which was the name given to the Gulf of California. To find the outlet of that great river was another reason for sending exploring parties into the unknown regions lying west and southwest of the Great Lakes, and it was probably the controlling reason with the king of France, who directed that they be organized and sent forth. The first of the French expeditions to reach Missouri was made in 1673 by Louis Joliet, who was accompanied by James Marquette and five other men. Marquette belonged to a noble family of the beautiful old-cathedral city of Laon in France. He was a kind of soldier-priest, and it was in the spirit of a missionary to unknown Indians that he and Joliet left Quebec, which was then a French colony, and began a toilsome journey into the far southwest. They discovered the upper Mississippi, and passed down it to the mouth of the Arkansas, exploring many of its tributaries. Marquette wrote a full account of their

discoveries, and on their return their reports stirred other men into an ambitious desire to find the outlet of the great river.

3. La Salle and the French Title.—In 1682 La Salle, another Frenchman from Quebec, explored the Mississippi to its mouth, and formally took possession of the whole country in the name of Louis XIV., the reigning King of France, in whose honor he called the country Louisiana. All the leading nations of Europe at that time held to the principle that the nation that discovered and explored a great river and established a considerable and permanent settlement near its mouth became the owner of all the country drained by that river and all its tributaries. The king of France made known to the world that he claimed the whole country drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries by virtue of La Salle's discoveries, and within a few years permanent French settlements were begun at Natchez, New Orleans and at other points along the Mississippi, and hence France became the owner of the whole country. As the country now called Missouri was drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, it was a part of Louisiana, and our soil first belonged to France. De Soto as the representative of Spain had long before that explored the great river and visited this territory, yet he made no settlement anywhere in the Mississippi Valley, and hence Spain had no title to the soil.



Robert Cavalier De La Salle.

4. The Name Missouri.—Most of the early French settlements were on the east bank of the Mississippi, but in 1705 a prospecting party of Frenchmen ascended the Missouri

river to where Kansas City is now situated. This was the first ascent of this noble river by white men. It was first called Pek-i-ta-nou-i, by Marquette, which is an Indian word meaning "muddy water." About 1712 it was first called Missouri, from the name of a tribe of Indians who inhabited the country at its mouth and along a considerable portion of its banks. It cannot be certainly said that "Missouri" means "muddy water," or that it does not; its precise meaning is uncertain. But it is a fact that this definition of the word "Missouri" was given to it after the name of the river was changed from Pekitanoui or Pekitanou, which means "muddy water," to Missouri.

5. Interior Explorations.—An exploration of the interior of Missouri by the French was begun in 1719. The authorities at New Orleans ordered the expedition, and De Dutisne was placed in charge of it. He started with his force from the mouth of Saline river, a stream about seventy miles south of St. Louis. He moved northwest across the Ozark mountains to the Osage river, near which he came upon a village occupied by Osage Indians, containing about one hundred cabins and huts. One hundred and twenty miles further west he found two other large villages, inhabited by Poncas Indians, who seemed to own many horses. He returned by way of the Missouri River, and took formal possession of the country by erecting posts with the king's arms thereon. After this expedition the daring Frenchmen ventured into the forests for purposes of hunting, trading and mining. The rapidity with which they came excited the jealousy of the Spanish, who still claimed the country.

6. The Spanish Caravan.—The Spanish authorities, still covetous of the great Mississippi Valley, determined to destroy the power of the French along the Missouri and Mississippi. In 1720 they organized a motley troop at Santa Fe, stated by writers at the time to consist of 1,500 men, women and children, but perhaps consisting of less

than one-third that number, and those mostly soldiers and untrained militia. It was given the name of "the Spanish Caravan." It moved across the plains and entered the Missouri country, and here was suddenly attacked by the Missouri Indians and their kindred tribes, who were allies of the French, and the entire troop, except one friar, were killed. The French writers of that and later times were greatly elated over the entire destruction of this caravan, for it put a stop to further claims by Spain to the Mississippi country. In consequence they wrote extravagant accounts of it, and it is doubtful if even yet the exact facts in regard to it are known.

7. Fort Orleans.—The boldness of the Spanish Caravan aroused the French to strengthen their hold on the country. They sent a force up the Missouri River to build a fort and cultivate friendly relations with the numerous Indian tribes. De Bourgmont, who had rendered valuable service to the French king in Canada and Louisiana, was in command, and, aided by twenty soldiers and some servants, established a fort about fifteen miles from the mouth of Grand River, and called it Fort Orleans. It was the first European establishment within the present territory of Missouri, and was built in the latter part of 1723. Its exact location is not known, but it is certain it was either on an island in the Missouri River, long ago washed away, or within the boundaries of what is now Carroll County. De Bourgmont succeeded in forming friendly alliances with the principal Indian tribes on both sides of the river, and far into Kansas, and in 1725 took a dozen of the principal men of the Missouris and Osages to France, presented them to the king, and then sent them in safety back to their own people. Fort Orleans a few years later was abandoned and allowed to decay.

Questions on Chapter I.

1. Who was the first white man in Missouri? (1)
 2. Describe De Soto's journey. (1)
 3. What great river did he discover? (1)
 4. Describe the fabled city of Quivira. (2)
 5. Did Spaniards make any settlement in Missouri or the Mississippi Valley? (2)
 6. Mention some French explorations. (2)
 7. What is said of Marquette? (2)
 8. Who named Louisiana? (3)
 9. In honor of what king was it named? (3)
 10. Upon what did European nations base title in New World? (3)
 11. What did France do to perfect La Salle's discoveries? (3)
 12. Why was not Spain's claim good? (3)
 13. Where were the French settlements? (4)
 14. What is said about name of Missouri river? (4)
 15. When was the interior of Missouri first explored? (5) Describe first explorations. (5)
 16. Describe the Spanish Caravan. (6)
 17. What is said of Fort Orleans? (7)
-

CHAPTER II.**THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS.**

8. The First Permanent Settlement.—The first place settled in Missouri was Ste. Genevieve (pronounced Jen-eev) in about 1735. It was about three miles from the present town of that name on the Mississippi River, sixty miles below St. Louis. For some time daring and hardy Frenchmen had been gathering in and around Kaskaskia, a settlement in Illinois, until at this time it had about six thousand people. Most of them had come in search of gold and silver. Some of them, under Renault, a wealthy and extensive miner, crossed over into Missouri in search of these metals. They found none, but they did find lead in abundance. Furnaces were prepared for smelting, and it was conveyed in boats to New Orleans, and then to France. In 1785 the old town was destroyed by flood, and the site of the

present town was selected. Many settlers came from the east side of the Mississippi, and the town soon became an important trading point.

9. The Next Settlement.—The next settlement of any consequence was St. Louis. Its founder was Laclede, whose name has since been given to many business institutions in the State. His full name was Pierre Laclede Liguiste, but he was more generally known as Pierre Laclede. He was a man of great business sagacity. In 1762 he and some associates obtained from D'Abbadie a monopoly of the fur trade with the Indians of Missouri. D'Abbadie was the civil and military governor of Louisiana, and, acting for the king of France, exercised a vice-regal authority. Laclede explored the regions along the Mississippi in search of the best point at which to establish a trading post and sell goods. His keen business sense directed him to a low bluff on the west side of the river. Here, on the spot not far from where the court house now stands, on the south side of Market street, which took its name from the only market house the city contained for sixty years, he cleared away the heavy timber and erected his trading post, in February, 1764. This was the beginning of St. Louis. It was named for one of the kings of France—some writers say for Louis XV., who was king at the time; others stoutly affirm that it was named for Louis IX., whom the French people greatly honored, even pronouncing him a saint, hence Saint Louis.



Pierre Laclede Liguiste.

10. St. Charles.—The first settlement north of the Missouri River was at St. Charles, by Blanchette, “the hunter,” soon after St. Louis was founded. It was at first a mere camp of hunters, fur-traders and explorers, but as the years went by some of these remained and built houses. So that the exact date of the settlement cannot be stated. At St. Charles was built the first permanent fort in Missouri, and there and near there in after years the Indians committed their worst atrocities against the whites.

11. Missouri Transferred to Spain.—About this time ended French rule in Missouri. The battle of Quebec, in which had met the chivalrous Montcalm and the noble Wolfe, the one commanding the intrepid French and the other the invincible English, had been fought more than four years before. It was the end of a contest between these two peoples for the possession of America. It was decided in favor of the English, and the decision marks an epoch in the progress of civil liberty. France, by a treaty ratified at Fontainebleau in 1763, gave up all her territory in America—the Canadas, and all that part of Louisiana east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, to England; and New Orleans and all the country west of the river to Spain, as an indemnification for her losses in the war. England thus acquired rule over the east side of the river before Laclede had begun his settlement at St. Louis, but Missouri belonged to Spain. England at no time before or after this was entitled to Missouri's soil. Because of the long war between England and France, the settlers along the upper Mississippi valley, the most of whom were Frenchmen, greatly disliked the idea of being subject to England. It was thought Spain could never exercise dominion over her newly acquired territory, and hence many of them crossed over the river into Missouri. This will explain why the population increased so rapidly for the next few years, and why it was mostly French, although governed by Spain.

12. St. Ange's Rule.—Although the title to Louisiana was now in Spain, the officers of that nation did not succeed in formally taking possession of the country till 1770. Soon after the treaty was signed, St. Ange de Bellerive, who was commander for the French in Illinois, surrendered his authority to Captain Sterling, the representative of England, and settled in St. Louis. He was followed by many of the French settlers east of the river. By common consent, and probably by permission of the government at New Orleans, he was made the commander of the settlement. He was a wise and safe ruler.

13. St. Ange and Pontiac.—St. Ange and the settlers were enemies of English rule, and friends to England's enemies. They were admirers and supporters of Pontiac, a powerful Indian chief, who was the terror of the whites from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Pontiac, aided by the French, among them some of the settlers along the Mississippi, had in 1759 met a strong English army at Pittsburg under Braddock and George Washington, and disastrously defeated it. St. Ange invited Pontiac to visit him, which he did. He was entertained with great distinction and visited by the principal citizens. But when France lost her possessions in America, Pontiac thereby lost his greatest support. His allies among the Indians soon afterwards forsook him. He was crushed in spirit and sought to drown his sorrow in intoxicating drink. Richly dressed in robes adorned with eagles' feathers, he visited Cahokia, a town about six miles below St. Louis, in what is now Illinois. Becoming stupefied by drink, he wandered into a thicket near the place, and was there assassinated by a Kaskaskia Indian, who was hired by an English trader and received a barrel of whiskey for the murder. St. Ange had his body brought to St. Louis and buried at the intersection of Walnut and Fourth streets, close by where the great Southern Hotel stood until recently. Near his grave St. Ange was buried in after years.

Questions on Chapter II.

1. Where was the first permanent settlement in Missouri? (8)
2. What is said of Renault and his followers? (8)
3. When and by whom was St. Louis settled? (9)
4. What is said of St. Charles? (10)
5. What is said of the battle of Quebec? (11)
6. What did France get by the Fontainebleau treaty? (11)
7. What did Spain get? (11)
8. Why did the French settlers in Illinois come to Missouri? (11)
9. What did St. Ange do? (12)
10. What is said of St. Ange and Pontiac? (13)

CHAPTER III.**SPANISH RULE.**

14. First Spanish Ruler.—The first Spanish Lieutenant-Governor, acting as a subordinate in most things to the Governor at New Orleans, was Don Pedro Piernas. The people regretted to see the flag of France lowered, and even shed tears when they realized that they were to be ruled by one of a different blood and nation from themselves. But their regrets did not last long. Piernas was a mild and safe ruler. He made few laws, and they were just and easily obeyed. He appointed St. Ange captain of his infantry and filled nearly all the subordinate offices with Frenchmen. He began systematic surveys of the lands and appointed a Frenchman surveyor. He further publicly confirmed all the land grants made by St. Ange between the time of the transfer of the territory from France to Spain in 1763, and the beginning of the Spanish rule in 1770, which grants would of course have been illegal had he not confirmed them. He finally won the entire confidence of the people by marrying a French woman, so that after they had known him for five years they again shed tears to give him up. He had found a population of 891, most of whom were confined to St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve. The people were mostly French, and few of them could read or write. There were no schools and

very little desire for any. But the people were honest, industrious and peaceable. Indeed, during the entire Spanish period of thirty-eight years, only one case of murder of a white man by a white man in St. Louis is reported.

15. The Soil and Settler.—The soil at that time was covered with thick forests or rank prairie grass, filled with all kinds of game and inhabited by Indians who lived in wigwams and hunted and fished for subsistence. This in the main was true of all the Indian tribes; but the Osages, whose habitat was within the west half of what is now Missouri, raised corn and lived in more substantial huts. The French settlers were possessed of an aptitude for easy and peaceable intercourse with the natives. They studied their language, took part in their sports, adapted themselves to their usages, humored their whims, and never ridiculed their religious ideas. Often the settler, of plastic temper, with a free-and-easy manner, would decorate his hair with eagle feathers, attach hairy fringes to his hunting shirt, and mix and mingle with the Indians as if they were his equals. And for these reasons, and because the French did not attempt to extensively cultivate the lands, there were fewer Indian wars in the early settlement of Missouri than in many of the other States.

16. Houses and Ownership of Lands.—The land was owned largely by tenancy in common. The settlements had each a common in the rear of the houses, inclosing hundreds of acres under one fence for the benefit of all. But the settlements themselves were compact villages, for the settlers were sociable and loved to congregate together. Nearly all the early ones were along some river. A long street usually extended parallel to it. The land along it was divided into lots a few rods wide and perhaps twice as long. On these the houses were built, which were usually one story high, constructed of corner posts and studs, to which were attached numerous cross-ties. Then a stiff mortar, made of mud and

cut straw, was plastered on to the outside. The roof was shingled with bark or clapboards. The chimney was the celebrated "stick-and-dirt chimney." It was made of rock and burnt clay to some distance above the intense heat of the fire, and from that distance was finished with alternate pieces of wood and clay plaster. The floors were made of logs with the upper roundness hewn flat, or of split logs, the flat sides of which were turned up, and, by notching in the ends, were thus put on a level. These were called puncheon floors. The doors were hung on wooden hinges. Back of each house was a field, 192 feet wide and 7,800 feet long, containing about thirty-four acres. Each villager had one or more of these fields assigned to him, according to his desires, or the necessities of his family. Next to the fields was the common, stocked with cattle, hogs and horses, the property of all.

17. Social Relations.—Hospitality was a duty and a virtue. Each house was a free hotel to the extent of its capacity. Amusements, festivals and holidays were frequent. There were no statutory laws; no trades, nor professions, no prisons. The priests were their instructors in all matters of learning and religion. In politics they were attached to France, and were not anxious about any political questions, believing that France ruled the world and ruled it right.

18. Settlement of Disputes.—There were no trials by jury during either the French or Spanish period. This great bulwark of English liberty—perhaps the distinctive characteristic of their government wherever the English race has spread—had no sway till after Missouri was acquired by the United States. If one wished to recover property, or had committed a crime, the matter was submitted to the lieutenant-governor, or to some deputy designated by him, who decided as he understood the law of Spain or France to be, or as his prejudices or ideas of right directed him. All governmental power was vested in the lieutenant-governor—if there were any laws he made them; he was the judge of whatever courts

were held, and when a case was decided he directed his soldiers to carry out his orders; he made grants of land to persons he considered worthy, and revoked them when his regulations were not obeyed. Autocratic though his authority would seem to be, it was submitted to by all persons without murmuring, because it was usually exercised with justice and moderation.

19. British and Indian Attack.—We have now come to the time of the Revolutionary War, which though fraught with very great consequences, yet disturbed these sturdy settlers very little. They were French subjects of Spain, and the war was fought by England and her subjects. These settlers, removed a thousand miles from the scene of the war, therefore, took no part in it, except as did Spain and France, to sympathize with the Colonies and wish for their success. In 1778 Virginia sent out General George Rogers Clark, who captured the British settlements in Illinois, such as Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and he was very much befriended by the inhabitants of St. Louis, including the Lieutenant-Governor. The British undertook, soon after this, a comprehensive movement for the expulsion of the Spanish from the Mississippi Valley. Their plan was to come down from Canada and their forts near the Great Lakes, and first capture St. Louis and then recapture the Illinois towns taken by General Clark. De Leyba, who was the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor, in anticipation of an attack, built a wooden tower at the north end of St. Louis, and threw up two lines of intrenchments around the western outskirts of the town. In the tower he placed five small cannons, and manned the intrenchments with 25 soldiers and 281 militia, well armed with guns. Four or five months passed and nothing happened. But on May 26, 1780, a force of 150 English and Canadian whites and 1,500 Indians gathered in the woods around the town, principally north of it, and first captured two citizens at Cardinal Spring, near where the fair grounds were situated

in later years, one of whom (Cardinal) they killed, and then proceeded at once to the attack, but they met a spirited resistance. Some of the Indian allies (the Sacs and Foxes), whose allegiance had been bargained for, seem to have been half-hearted in the attack because of their friendship for the French traders with whom they had come in contact, and were charged by the British officer in command (Sinclair) with desertion. The other Indians were terrified by the cannon and withdrew. Fifty-eight of the inhabitants had been killed and scalped, and others were taken prisoners. De Leyba was an unpopular ruler, and it has been stated in various books and long believed that during this fight he was in a drunken stupor, and being aroused by the noise of the cannon directed them to be turned and fired upon the gallant defenders of the town. But more recent and careful investigation indicates that these charges were not true. On the contrary, when the official report of the attack and repulse reached Spain the king was greatly pleased and conferred on him a high rank in his army—an honor which he never knew, for he died a month after the attack. His unpopularity was probably in part due to his speculations in trade, and to the fact that he put a stop to the smuggling in of goods imported from abroad, which Piernas and Cruzat, his predecessors, had allowed to be shipped in and sold without the payment of the tariffs which the Spanish government had imposed.

20. Cruzat and Pirates.—Cruzat had succeeded Piernas as lieutenant-governor in 1775. His first term lasted till 1778, when he was removed, and De Leyba was appointed. His second term, which began in 1780 and lasted till 1787, was mild and prosperous. A census, taken in 1785, shows a population of about 1,500 for all Missouri, which number was swelled to 2,100 by another census of 1788. This increase was largely due to the high waters of the Mississippi, which overflowed much of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and

caused some of the inhabitants of those towns to cross over into Missouri. To such a height did the angry waters rise that 1785 was long afterwards known as "the year of the great water." While Cruzat was lieutenant-governor, the trade of the Mississippi was much impaired by pirates. Grand Tower is a large column of rock situated about midway between St. Louis and the mouth of the Ohio. Here a large band of pirates collected and would capture and pillage passing boats, appropriate their cargoes, and kill their crews. These depredations went on until 1788, and many a daring robbery and foul murder was committed. Other portions of the river were also infested. That year, however, the governor at New Orleans ordered all boats traveling on the river to go together. By this means their combined strength was too much for the pirates, and they were dispersed and never afterwards heard of.

21. Shawnees and Delawares.—In 1787, Manuel Perez came into office. During his administration, bands of Shawnees and Delawares, driven by the advancement of the whites from beyond the Alleghanies and from Ohio and Kentucky, settled near Ste. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau. Here they remained for thirty-five years, till 1825, when they were required to move still further westward. Although in the country north of the Ohio and in their frequent raids into Kentucky they had been the bloodiest of savages, after they settled in Missouri they were peaceable and industrious and never quarreled with the whites of these regions. They became useful to them as hunters and small farmers, and were established in small settlements close to the whites as an intervention between them and more unfriendly tribes further west. In after years one of these Shawnee chiefs is said to have addressed these words to General Harrison: "You call us your children; why do you not make us happy as our fathers, the French, did? They never took from us our lands; indeed they were in common between us. They

planted where they pleased, and cut wood where they pleased. So did we. But now, if a poor Indian attempts to take a little bark from a tree to cover him from the rain, up comes a white man and threatens to shoot him, claiming the tree as his own." The honorable conduct of the French settlers toward the Indians is a part of Missouri history which admits of just pride.

22. From 1793 to 1804.—In 1793 Trudeau came into office, and in 1799 he was succeeded by Delassus (De-la-su), the last of the Spanish lieutenant-governors. Aside from the "hard winter" of 1798-1799 and the "small-pox" of 1801, there are but two important facts to consider. They explain the rapid increase of the population which in 1800 arose to about six thousand, and in 1803 to about ten thousand, and also why nearly all of the increase was English instead of French. (1) By a voluntary grant from Virginia, Congress in 1784 acquired all the soil north of the Ohio river known as the Northwest Territory, and in 1787 passed a law prohibiting slavery therein. Hence many of the settlers in that territory who owned slaves came to Missouri, where the law did not apply. (2) The other cause was the liberal terms upon which the immigrant could obtain soil west of the Mississippi. In 1796 the English of Canada threatened an invasion of Upper Louisiana. The Spanish authorities conceived themselves under the necessity of strengthening their settlements for defense. They argued that the hostility of the people of the United States toward England would prove a sufficient guaranty of their fidelity to Spain. Hence lands were freely offered to all such settlers as would pay the office fees and expenses of surveying. By these terms one could get eight hundred acres of land of his own choosing for about fifty dollars, almost entirely free from subsequent taxes. In making these grants no favoritism was shown Catholics as against Protestants, and the king gave orders that the people were not to be disturbed in the exercise of their religion.

23. General Conditions.—Such in brief is the history of Spanish rule in Missouri. It was, for the most part, brave, just and wise. The people were far away from the civilization of the world, in the very heart of a continent inhabited by savages, with only a few settlements by white persons within a thousand miles of them. They were free from taxation, free from the tyranny and interference of a foreign king. Yet the amicable terms they maintained with the Indians, and the orderly government they held over themselves without laws or juries, and almost without officers of any kind, enlist at once our admiration and hold our serious thought. So that we do not wonder that, when the country was transferred to the United States in 1804, “few of the French and part of the English-Americans only were reconciled to the change, though they never manifested any discontent.”

24. Population.—Another census, taken in 1800, gives the population of St. Louis at 925; of St. Charles, at 875; of Ste. Genevieve, at 949; of New Madrid, at 782, and the entire population of Missouri at 6,028. Of this number 4,948 were whites, 197 free colored, and 883 slaves. Nearly four years later, when the territory was transferred to the United States, it had increased to 9,020 whites and 1,300 colored, most of the latter being slaves.

Questions on Chapter III.

1. Discuss Spanish rule in Missouri. (14)
2. Discuss the soil and settler. (15) The house, village and ownership of land. (16)
3. Discuss social relations. (17) Settlement of disputes and government. (18)
4. Discuss British and Indian attack on St. Louis. (19)
5. Discuss Shawnee and Delaware Indians. (21)
6. Give two reasons for increase in population about 1800. (22)
7. Describe life in the heart of the Continent. (23)

PART II.

TERRITORIAL PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

25. The Situation.—By the treaty of 1763 Spain acquired all the country west of the Mississippi and the island on which New Orleans is situated, and still owned them at the close of the eighteenth century. But events which startled the world had been taking place in Europe toward the close of that century. Napoleon Bonaparte was in the full flush of military triumph, and had raised France to great political supremacy on land. He wished also to advance her to a high position on sea and in commerce. In furtherance of this plan he determined to have Louisiana. He asked the king of Spain to cede all that territory to France, and in return offered to establish the king's son-in-law upon the throne of the new kingdom of Etruria, which he was about to set up. The transfer was made on October 1, 1800, and thus the title to a territory much larger than all the thirteen original colonies was acquired by a stroke of the pen. But the negotiation was kept secret. Napoleon feared if England knew it at once she might make it impossible for him ever to possess the country. But, nevertheless, the title to Missouri was now in France again. We must see how it came to belong to the United States.

26. The Purchase.—It was not many months till it became known in America that the cession had been made.

The announcement created great unrest throughout the country, especially in Kentucky, Tennessee and the entire Ohio Valley, which at that time were inhabited by over a half million of people, mostly from the Atlantic States. For some years before the transfer to France, Spain claimed the sole right to control the navigation of the Mississippi, which claim she was enabled to enforce because she owned the land on both sides of the river at New Orleans. It was by that river only that the people of the Ohio country had a way of reaching the world's markets, and this claim on the part of Spain greatly impeded their trade and aroused them to anger and to threaten to take up arms to hold the Mississippi open and free to their commerce. The people beyond the Alleghanies gave little heed to these Ohio troubles till Louisiana was transferred to France. Then a protest arose from the whole nation. A weak nation like Spain was not to be feared, but a powerful one like France, in full control of the Mississippi River and with a strong garrison at New Orleans, could greatly impair the power, commerce and expansion of the United States. President Jefferson, therefore, instructed Mr. Livingston, the minister to France, to protest in the name of his nation against any attempt by France to occupy Louisiana. But about this time England was drawn into the war against Napoleon. She was mistress of the sea and could easily thwart Napoleon's plans of possessing himself of Louisiana. She, too, objected to France having that great country, and determined to oppose Napoleon in any attempt to possess himself of it. For these reasons and because of the demand for all his forces for his military operations on land, Napoleon saw the coveted prize had gone from him forever. Besides, he was in need of money. But he was determined to put it out of the reach of England, and hoping to conciliate the United States toward him he proposed to Mr. Livingston to sell Louisiana. President Jefferson sent James Monroe, afterward President himself, to France to assist in the pur-

chase of New Orleans and West Florida (the country lying between New Orleans and the present Florida, south of the 31st parallel of latitude, and which by treaty made in 1783 had been ceded by England to Spain), but on his arrival he found Napoleon willing to sell all of Louisiana. Monroe and Livingston were wise enough to undertake to purchase the larger tract, which would include New Orleans, and to pass the acquirement of West Florida to the future. Napoleon had instructed his representative (his treasurer, named Marbois, whose wife was a native of Mobile) not to take less than fifty million francs, but he at first asked one hundred million. The American ministers offered eighty million, and the trade was soon closed. Of this sum, which amounted to \$15,000,000, one-fourth was remitted because of the damage which had been done to the trade of the Ohio country after Louisiana had been transferred from Spain to France.

27. Terms of the Contract.—The contract of purchase was dated April 30, 1803, and that has ever since been recognized as the date of the purchase, but it was actually signed on May 2, 1803. On October 17th the treaty was ratified in the United States Senate by a vote of twenty-four to seven; and, on the 21st, Congress, by a large majority of each house, at once provided for the bonds with which to pay for the purchase. By Article III of the contract, written by the great Napoleon himself, it was stipulated that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted, as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess." These words are important, because, as we shall see, they entered largely into the controversy which grew out of Missouri's application for admission into the Union. The pur-

chase having been made and endorsed by Congress, it only remained for the United States to take formal possession of the territory. This was easily done. On March 9, 1804, the American troops crossed the river and entered St. Louis, and Delassus, on the part of Spain, delivered Upper Louisiana to Captain Amos Stoddard, of the United States Army, who had been commissioned by France to receive it in her behalf, and on the next day he transferred it to the United States. The territory thus acquired amounted to over 900,000 square miles, almost one-third of the entire area of the United States at present, and included all the country west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains except a part of Texas. A government map, "compiled from official surveys" some years ago, makes it also include Idaho, Oregon and Washington, but it included nothing west of the dividing line of the Rocky Mountains—the line beyond which the waters run west.

Questions on Chapter I.

1. What territory had Spain acquired by the Fontainebleau treaty of 1763? (25)
2. What military chieftain was in full triumph at the close of the eighteenth century? (25)
3. What did he desire to do with Louisiana? (25)
4. How did he obtain it? (25)
5. What effect did the cession to France produce in America? (26)
Why? (26)
6. Who was President at this time? (26)
7. Why was Napoleon compelled to sell Louisiana? (26)
8. What Americans made the purchase? (26)
9. What was the price paid? (26)
10. What was the date of the contract? (27)
11. What body ratified it? (27)
12. How was the land paid for? (27)
13. What is Article III? (27) Who wrote it? (27)
14. Why is this article important? (27)
15. Who took formal possession on behalf of the Union? (27)
16. What did the purchase include? (27)

17. Can you calculate from what is said in sections 26 and 27 what was paid per acre for Louisiana?
18. Can you compare the cost of the purchase with the value of the corn crop of Missouri or the amount of gold mined in Colorado in a single year?

CHAPTER II.

MISSOURI'S FIRST YEARS AS A TERRITORY.

28. The New Arrangement.—Louisiana was divided into two parts soon after its transfer to the United States. All of it now within the State of Louisiana was then called the Territory of Orleans; to the rest was given the name of the District of Louisiana at first, but within a year it was changed to the Territory of Louisiana. It of course embraced the country now called Missouri. For the purposes of government the district was attached to the then Territory of Indiana, whose governor at that time was General William Henry Harrison, afterwards President for a short time. He first set in operation the powers of the United States over the new territory. The people objected to being attached to Indiana, and drew up a remonstrance and petition to Congress in which they asked to be organized as a territory of the second class. Fifteen men, "elected by the free men of the district," were chosen to prepare the paper, and of this number eight were of French extraction, which fact indicates of what races were the settlers of Missouri at that time, and also how readily the Frenchman adopted the political methods of his neighbors of English blood, with whom almost alone it was a rule to ask for a redress of grievances by petition.

29. Neglect of Congress.—Their petition was in part granted. Congress recognized three grades of territories at that time. The district was separated from Indiana and erected into a Territory of the first or lowest grade, instead of the second, for which they had asked. The Governor and

three judges, to be appointed by the President, were to make laws for the government of the Territory, subject all the time of course to the approval of Congress. This was agreeable to the people. But nothing was done toward a settlement of the disputed titles to their lands. These were in great confusion because of the loose way in which the Spanish had always made surveys and grants of land, and because much soil had been granted to settlers by the Spanish rulers after the territory had been ceded to France in 1800 and before it had been transferred to the United States in 1804. Nothing was done toward remedying the uncertainty of the land-claimants' tenures, and as a result immigration was greatly retarded, and the people undertook to defend their titles for themselves. In some cases the adverse claimants to the soil, with gun in hand, determined between themselves who should be its owner. But in 1812, after a delay of nearly eight years, Congress passed a law confirming the titles of the inhabitants of the different villages to the lands which they had occupied prior to the Louisiana purchase. This gave the desired relief. The tide of immigration now set in strongly again and the price of land increased, in some instances six hundred per cent in a few years. It must be remembered, however, that these disorders in regard to the land titles were almost entirely confined to those parts of the territory which had been settled during the Spanish domination and which now were fast losing their French aspect because of the rapid influx of persons of English blood.

30. First Territorial Governor.—The first Governor appointed under the new order of things was General James Wilkinson. With him were associated as chief justice, J. B. C. Lucas, a very worthy gentleman, who had been a judge in Pennsylvania; and as secretary, Dr. Joseph Browne, who was a brother-in-law of Aaron Burr, by whose request he obtained the appointment. Just at the time of Wilkinson's appointment the dissatisfaction above spoken of in regard to

land titles was beginning. His personal popularity as a man, and his extensive experience in public affairs, it was thought, would check all this, and bring the United States government into popular favor with the inhabitants whose traditions, customs and blood were so very different from those of the rest of the Union. But this proved to be a sad mistake. To properly understand why that was true it will be necessary to speak of the unusual course of Aaron Burr and Wilkinson's connection therewith. Before doing so, however, it is proper to state that Wilkinson's popularity was undeserved. It was based on his long prominence rather than upon any exact information in Washington of his real character. He had been an officer in the Revolutionary War, and after its close was a colonel in the Standing Army, and when General Wayne died became its chief general, but it developed in after years that while holding that position of trust he was secretly receiving money from Spain and for years had been in covert collusion with the Spanish governor at New Orleans to wrest Kentucky (where he resided) and Tennessee from their allegiance to the United States.

31. Burr and Wilkinson.—In 1801 Aaron Burr had been elected Vice-President, and prevented from being President only by a very narrow majority vote of the House of Representatives. Becoming unpopular as a politician, sour at his disappointment, but still ambitious for political renown, toward the close of his term he came to the West with the object of revolutionizing Mexico, making himself its ruler, and ultimately attaching all the country west of the Alleghanies to his dominions. He expected his chief support from the Territory of Louisiana. There is no reason to believe that Wilkinson was not influenced by him and perhaps half-heartedly and secretly joined in his plans. Burr visited the Territory in September, 1805, and in 1807 he was put on trial for conspiring to break up the Union, and the next year Wilkinson was tried as an accessory to his crime. The latter

was the principal witness against Burr and in the course of the trial was able to show that he had written to the proper authorities at Washington more than a year before the final collapse of Burr's plans, that "Burr was about something, and an eye ought to be kept on him." This letter perhaps prevented Wilkinson's conviction, but it will be seen that it was written a year after Burr had first visited him. In fact the evidence seems strong that Wilkinson at first secretly supported Burr, but within a year, from fear of the results or from some other equally good cause, concluded it best not to yoke his fortunes with Burr's any longer. Wilkinson, besides his compromising relations with Burr, was a speculator in land and his conduct was otherwise odious to the people. Hence he was removed after acting as Governor about two years and was succeeded by Captain Meriwether Lewis, of the celebrated Lewis-and-Clark Expedition. Wilkinson afterward became prominent in the war of 1812, but to this day his name is held in contempt.

32. Other Immigrants.—In the meantime the people prospered. The population, at first confined almost entirely to the villages, had begun to extend itself into the surrounding forests and prairies. Settlers had found their way into Warren County, into Franklin County and along the Gasconade. Most of the immigrants at this time were from the Atlantic States. Their industry and enterprise soon gave them a controlling influence. They occupied the most prominent positions and took the lead in business and in cultivating the lands. No more immigrants came from France or Spain. Lands began to have a recognized value and soon speculations in them were active. The pursuits of the people began to be largely agricultural. In 1808 the publication of the first newspaper west of the Mississippi River was begun. It was called the "Missouri Gazette," later the "Missouri Republican" and still later the "St. Louis Republic," Its publication under one of those names was continued until 1919.

Questions on Chapter II.

1. How was Louisiana divided? (28)
2. What was that part including Missouri called? (28)
3. To what was it attached? (28)
4. How did Congress provide for the government of the Territory? (29)
5. What was the effect of Congress's neglect? (29)
6. Who was the first Territorial Governor? (30)
7. What is said of him? (30)
8. Describe Burr's and Wilkinson's conspiracies? (31)
9. Who was the next Territorial Governor? (31)
10. What is said of new immigrants? (32)
11. Where did they settle? (32)

CHAPTER III.**EXPLORING EXPEDITIONS.**

33. The Famous Expedition of Lewis and Clark was projected by President Jefferson soon after the purchase of Louisiana, and was placed in charge of Captain Lewis, the President's private secretary, and Captain William Clark of the United States Army, a brother of George Rogers Clark. Each of these gentlemen afterward became Territorial Governor of Missouri by appointment. The company was composed of nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers, two French boatmen, two hunters, an interpreter, and a few servants. They began the ascent of the Missouri River in May, 1804. Near the mouth of the Gasconade they passed the last white man's house they were to see until their return. They ascended the

**Meriwether Lewis.**

Missouri to its head waters, stopping off frequently to explore the surrounding country, collected facts about the character and strength of the various Indian tribes, about the fertility of the soil, and the number and extent of the tributaries of this long river. They spent the first winter just this side of the Rocky Mountains in forts constructed by themselves. Early next spring they began crossing the mountains and had many a sharp and wild encounter with grizzly bears, mountain lions and other animals. In November, 1805, they reached the ocean, having traveled over four thousand miles. They spent the winter at the mouth of the Columbia River, and as the spring approached started on their return homeward. It was the first expedition of the kind ever undertaken by our Government, and the return of the party in September, 1806, safe and successful, after an absence of over two years, was hailed with delight throughout the entire West. Congress joined in the general acclaim and voted each of the persons engaged in the expedition a tract of land in recognition of his services; and in further reward for Captain Lewis's services, he was appointed Governor of the Territory which he had done so much to make known.

34. Pike's Expedition.—About the same time Zebulon Montgomery Pike made like expeditions to the sources of the Mississippi, Arkansas, Platte and Kansas, and thereby really rendered almost as much service to Missouri as did the expedition of Lewis and Clark. In 1810 the journals of travels kept by Pike were published, with maps and atlases of the country explored, and extensively read. They furnished the first reliable information of the extent and value of the new country. After their appearance all complaints about the amount paid for Louisiana were hushed. Pike County, in the eastern part of the State, was named for this energetic explorer. It was because of his well-earned celebrity, perhaps, that many people in the Eastern States for a

long time knew the name of only one county in Missouri and that was Pike.

Questions on Chapter III.

1. What celebrated expedition is discussed in this chapter? (33)
2. Who were in charge of it? (33)
3. Describe their journey. (33)
4. How was their return received? (33)
5. What is said of Zebulon Pike's Expedition? (34)

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW MADRID EARTHQUAKE.

35. Earthquakes.—A little after midnight of December 16, 1811, began a series of earthquakes among the most extensive and destructive in the world's history. They extended over half a hemisphere. Sabrina, one of the Azores Islands, was elevated 360 feet above the level of the sea. Caracas, a city of Venezuela of 10,000 people, was totally destroyed and sunk sixty feet under water. In North America, the center of the earthquake disturbances, both in point of violence and in position, was near New Madrid, on the Mississippi River, in the southeastern part of Missouri. The disturbances extended north to the mouth of the Ohio River, south to the mouth of the St. Francois, and far into Arkansas and Tennessee. They began in a sudden shock which shook down walls, wrecked houses, tore up trees and set many things on the surface topsy-turvy. This was followed by undulations of the earth resembling waves, increasing in elevation as they advanced, and when they had attained a fearful height, the earth would then burst and vast volumes of water, sand and pit-coal were thrown up as high as the tops of trees. The earth rocked and reeled under men's feet. Fissures were formed, six hundred and even seven hundred feet in length, and twenty or thirty in breadth. Large oak trees were split in the center and forty feet up the

trunk, and one part left standing on one side of the fissure, and the other part on the other twenty feet distant. There issued no burning flames, but flashes such as result from the explosions of gas. The atmosphere was filled with this thick gas, to which the light imparted a purple hue. The waters in the Mississippi River suddenly rose several feet. In some places trees which had rested on the bottom of the river for perhaps centuries were elevated above the water and yet rested on the soil. Other places off the shore suddenly sunk and the water overflowed them. The water thrown up during the eruption of the "land waves" was lukewarm, so warm as to produce no chilly sensation to persons wading or swimming through it. Many fissures, besides the ones described, were of an oval or circular form, forced up to a considerable height, and others formed large and deep basins one hundred yards in diameter.

36. Remarkable Results.—A marked result of these land disturbances was the great depressions and elevations of the surface. Great tracts of country which hitherto had been lakes became dry land, and much dry land became lakes. Reelfoot Lake, on the opposite side of the river in Tennessee, twenty miles long and seven wide, was formed. The trunks of dead oaks and cypresses above thirty feet in height are at its bottom, over which boats can now be plied without interruption. A large extent of country on the Missouri side of the river was sunk ten feet below its former elevation. Much of the soil was ruined for agricultural purposes.

37. New Madrid Claims.—Afterwards Congress attempted to give relief by passing a law granting to each owner who had sustained serious loss a section of land in what was known as the "Boone's Lick Country," on condition that he relinquish his desolated farm to the Government. Perhaps twice as much land was "located" under this law as was ever destroyed in the New Madrid country. The "locations" were called New Madrid claims, and because of

their conflict with other entries were the source of much litigation.

Questions on Chapter IV.

1. What results of the earthquake of 1811 are mentioned? (35)
2. What was its center in North America? (35)
3. Describe some of its features. (35)
4. What other remarkable results are mentioned? (36)
5. What are "New Madrid claims?" (37)
6. How much land was settled under these claims? (37)

CHAPTER V.

OTHER SETTLEMENTS.

38. First English Settlements.—There were a number of small and scattered settlements in St. Charles, Gasconade and Warren counties as early as 1800 and the ten years succeeding. But we have now come to the first important settlement by people of English blood within Missouri. It was in Howard County, in the river bottom near Franklin, in 1810. The country had been previously visited by William Nash and some surveyors in 1804, who located claims, and again by Lewis and Clark, who explored the country and speak of having encountered many rattlesnakes there. In 1807 Nathan and Daniel Boone, at this time residents in St. Charles County, and sons of the celebrated Daniel Boone, began the manufacture of salt at Boone's Lick in the western part of what is now Howard County. This they shipped down the river in canoes made from logs, hollowed out and made water-proof by daubing the open places with clay. Col. Benjamin Cooper with his large family joined them in 1808, but Governor Lewis informed them that the protection of the Government from the Indians would not be extended to them at that distant home, and ordered them to return to the Gasconade settlement. This they did, but in 1810 Cooper, accompanied by about one hundred and fifty fami-

lies, mostly from Madison County, Kentucky, again came to Howard County, and of this great number all settled in Howard except Stephen and Hannah Cole, who crossed the river and became the first settlers of Cooper County, settling near the present site of Boonville.

39. Daniel Boone was a man whose like this country perhaps will never see again. His father came from England and settled in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where Daniel was born, July 14, 1732 (the same year in which George Washington was born), and where he received the rudest education. When he was eighteen years old his family moved to North Carolina. In 1769 with five hunters he explored the border regions of Kentucky, and was captured by the Indians, but soon made his escape. In a short time he was joined by his brother, and both were captured and a companion was killed. They escaped, his brother returned to North Carolina and he was left alone in the wilderness with only his rifle to gain subsistence and defend himself from the Indians. He continued his explorations, and in 1773 moved to Kentucky with seven other families, and was soon employed to lay out the lands by Virginia, of which Kentucky was then a part, and in commanding the garrisons which had been established for fighting the Indians. His life in Kentucky was spent in hunting, fighting the Indians, being captured by them and escaping. In 1792 he lost his lands because of defective title and quitted Kentucky in disgust. Hearing of very fertile lands in Missouri, he came here about 1794 and settled



Daniel Boone.

forty-five miles northwest of St. Louis, in what is now Warren County. There he obtained a grant of ten thousand acres of land, by reason of an agreement he formed with Delassus to bring one hundred and fifty families into Upper Louisiana from Virginia and Kentucky. But the grant was never confirmed because Boone failed to get the signature thereto of the direct representative of the Spanish crown. Afterward Congress granted him one thousand acres for his heroic public services. He spent most of his latter days with his son, Major Nathan Boone, and died in 1820 in his house, a two-story stone, the first of its kind in Missouri, some six miles from the Missouri River in St. Charles County. His body was buried in a cherry coffin which he had prepared himself and kept ready for years. The Legislature adjourned for one day out of respect for the old hero. The remains of himself and wife were afterward removed to Kentucky and interred with ceremonial pomp at Frankfort in 1845.

40. Lewis and Howard.—Wilkinson, the first Governor of the Territory of Louisiana, was succeeded in the spring of 1807 by Meriwether Lewis, who, while on his way to Washington, committed suicide in 1809 by shooting himself. He had been high-minded and studious from early boyhood, was a man of ability and faithful and heroic public service, but at times was subject to fits of deep despondency, and it was supposed that it was while in one of these that he took his life at the lonely wayside house in Tennessee, at which he had stopped to rest. But his death has always been shrouded in mystery. There have always been persons to assert that he did not commit suicide at all, but was murdered, and there were suspicious circumstances to give color to that assertion. But President Jefferson, who wrote a biographical sketch of him, says he committed suicide. President Madison appointed as his successor Gen. Benjamin Howard of Lexington, Kentucky. In 1812 Congress passed a law by which on the twelfth of December of that year Louisiana was to be ad-

vanced from the first to the second grade of Territories, and its name changed to Missouri. The last official act of Governor Howard was to issue a proclamation ordering an election to be held in November for a delegate to Congress and for members of the Territorial Legislature to be organized under this law. He resigned soon after this to become Brigadier-General in the army during the war of 1812, and died in St. Louis in 1814, having filled his position with commendable merit. Howard County, which was settled while he was Governor, was named in his honor.

41. Clark and Hempstead.—Governor Howard was succeeded by Captain William Clark, of the celebrated ex-



William Clark.

pedition of Lewis and Clark. He served as Governor till Missouri was admitted into the Union. No man ever in the West had more influence over the Indians than did "Red-head," the name by which Clark was called by them. He stood between them and the whites for years, was always their trusted friend and averted many a threatened invasion by them, and succeeded in amicably purchasing their lands for the United States or obtaining them by treaty.

Edward Hempstead, of St. Louis, was elected the first delegate to Congress in 1812. He was succeeded in 1815 by Rufus Easton, and he in 1817 by John Scott, who served till Missouri became a State. All were honorable and able men.

By an act of Congress in 1816 Missouri was advanced to the third or highest grade of territorial government.

42. Franklin.—The settlement about Boone's Lick grew rapidly. However, the Indians, especially the Pottawatomies and Foxes, stole the settlers' horses and kept them in almost constant alarm. Five different forts were built for their protection, but nevertheless many of the prominent men were killed, some of them in their own houses. Yet there was no power to avenge their wrongs or to prevent these recurrences except the strength of their own arms, for this part of the Territory at that time was beyond the organized jurisdiction of any government. In 1816 Franklin was laid off opposite the present site of Boonville. It was the first town of any importance west of St. Charles. It grew rapidly and soon came to have considerable population. Indeed, for many years Franklin was the center of society and commerce for all that class of immigrants who came from the older States, and who for the most part settled, not in St. Louis and south of it along the Mississippi, but in what soon became Howard County. Among its inhabitants were men who afterward became the most prominent Governors and useful Supreme Judges of the State. It was for many years a Government land office, with Thos. A. Smith as Receiver and Charles Carroll as Register. It had the first newspaper published west of St. Louis. Its name was the "Missouri Intelligencer." The old town has long since been mostly washed away by the encroachments of the Missouri River.

43. Howard County.—Howard County was organized in 1816. It at first included all that territory from which have since been carved thirty-one counties, twelve south of the Missouri River and nineteen north of it. For this reason it was long known as the "mother of counties." Its seat of justice was first Cole's Fort, on the south side of the river in Cooper County; in 1817 it was removed to Franklin, and in 1823 to Fayette. It was long the center of political influence in the State, and in the early days "Howard County, the mother of Missouri Democracy," was frequently heard.

Around Franklin as a center, population rapidly increased, and in a few years it had spread out into what afterwards became Boone, Callaway, Cooper and Chariton counties. All central Missouri was being rapidly transformed from a wilderness into happy homes.

44. Tide of Immigration.—The War of 1812 ended in 1815. At its close immigration to Missouri set in more rapidly than perhaps was ever elsewhere known in the United States up to that time. The rush was greatest from Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina and Tennessee. In less numbers they came from New York and New England, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland. As many as one hundred persons are said to have “passed through St. Charles in one day on their way to Boone’s Lick, and this rate was kept up for many days together.” Many of these “movers” brought with them a hundred head of cattle, besides hogs, horses and sheep and from three to twelve slaves. These long trains presented a sight which will never be seen in this country again. There was a huge wagon filled with the family’s “plunder,” drawn by three or four yoke of oxen. Next came the herds of cattle and sheep, each with many bells, making a beautiful chime, and as this mingled with the dull thud of the wagon, the coarse voice of the herder and driver, a peculiar impression was made which only those can appreciate who have heard it. At night the family would gather around the camp fire, the cattle would lie down and ruminate, and the “movers” would recount the thrilling incidents of the day; and if there were any slaves they would join in, and embrace every opportunity to proclaim the “quality” of their masters’ families.

45. Pioneer Life.—Coming to Missouri in those days was not an easy journey. It was a long way, a hard way, and sometimes dangerous. No army had gone ahead of the pioneer to build a great Roman road through the wilderness. As he pushed out into the central part of the territory, he

had to cut his own way and provide his own means of crossing the rivers and creeks. Vicious wolves and Indians lay in ambush. For days and weeks he and his wife and children heard not another human voice. And the same isolation and loneliness surrounded him after he reached his destination, and began his clearing in the woods; for, having arrived at his journey's end, his first business was to look him out a farm. Speculators had done much to confuse titles, but rich land was abundant, and with a little care he found easy opportunity to "open him up a farm." A log cabin was raised, and the land inclosed with what was known as the "Virginia rail fence." Until his first crop was ripe he could easily obtain a subsistence for himself and family by hunting and trapping. At that time the forests, and even prairies, abounded in deer, bear, wolves, panthers, wild cats, turkeys and various other game. The flesh of some of these, such as the deer and bear, furnished him food, and the skins of others were made into serviceable clothes, or sold for money to the enterprising French fur traders or exchanged for shoes or useful fabrics.

But he was far away from the throbbing world. There were no railroads, and it was not until 1817 that the first steamboat ascended the Mississippi. There were no post routes or mail carriers, few newspapers reached him, he had few books, schools were few and far between, and only occasionally did he hear the Gospel preached. Indians were about him, and were not always friendly. The fiercer wild animals attacked his young cattle, and often carried away his lambs and pigs. His house and utensils and clothing were the result of his own handiwork, and he was at one and the same time a farmer, a carpenter, a blacksmith, a tanner, a shoemaker, a weaver, a tailor, a fighter of Indians and wild beasts. This enforced skill of his hands brought him to see that he was master of material things, and that with the strength of his own right arm and the mind which directed it he could take dominion over the physical world.

He had heard "the call of the wild," and he had come to virgin Missouri because there rang in his soul God's command to take dominion over the earth and subdue it, and because, having foresight, he thought the new country would afford him and his children after him the largest opportunity for acquiring land and establishing homes. He loved the woods and the prairies; he was fond of chasing the buffalo and the deer and the fox, of hunting the wild turkey and prairie chicken and wild honey, of trapping for the beaver and the otter; but he did that because it was good sport, because it afforded him means of obtaining food and clothing, and because he was a very natural and a very sound man.

Nor was his almost complete isolation from the big world he had left behind without its recompense; it strengthened the family bond. Families were large, and its members found their company in each other. The companionship of husband and wife was closer and finer than in these days of thousands of daily distractions. It also taught him the value of hospitality. He was naturally a friendly man. He opened his doors to the passing stranger, and importuned him to take a place at his table and to sleep in his best bed. He was not only a rugged man; he was a man with the candor and kindness and truthfulness that self-mastery produces.

46. His House.—His log cabin differed somewhat from the houses of the French settlers. The posts were not set upright and slats nailed horizontally to them, as was the fashion with the French settler, but instead, he generally used large logs, hewn into shape, and fitted into one another by means of notches in the ends. These were laid one on another, in the shape of a pen, and the spaces between were filled with pieces of wood called "chinking" and around these was daubed a plaster made of clay. The door was made of heavy cross-pieces and rough-hewn boards. They were hung on wooden hinges and fastened with a wooden latch on the inside. The latch could be raised from the outside by a

string attached to it which passed through a hole in the door above the latch. To lock the door was simply to draw the string inside, and so "my latch-string always hangs on the outside" became a popular term of hospitality and an assurance of welcome to the neighbor or passing stranger. The windows were without glass. The light was admitted by the shutter which stood ajar, or through greased paper attached to a framework something like a sash. Sometimes the cabin was thirty feet square, and if two rooms were built a wide hall ran between, and the larger room was called the "big house." As the farmer grew wealthier, population increased, and the means of transportation improved, all these things gave way to the conveniences of modern life.

47. His Money.—He had little money, and indeed had need for but little. He raised his own food. The materials for his clothing were grown in his fields or sheared from his flocks and were converted into cloth and made into garments by the women of the household. What trading he did was mere barter; that is, the exchange of one article for another. Peltries, lead and its product in the shape of shot, were used in the place of money. There were Spanish dollars, however, and these were often cut into halves, quarters, and even eighths, which, because of their small size, came to be called "bits," and so to this day a "bit" is twelve and a half cents. For any less amount pins, needles, sheets of writing paper, and other articles of small value were used.

48. Lead and the Fur Trade.—But agriculture was not the only pursuit. Lead was produced in great abundance. "One million five hundred thousand pounds were annually turned out by the Meramec mines alone, which gave employment to three hundred and fifty hands, exclusive of smelters, blacksmiths and others." Much of it was turned into shot and a tower for that purpose was erected at Ste. Genevieve. The fur trade was very large. As early as 1804 it amounted

to two hundred thousand dollars per annum. Large trading companies, with headquarters in St. Louis, were organized, which sent out trappers along almost every tributary of the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains. The foundation for many a large fortune was thus laid. The Chouteaus of St. Louis through this fur trade were known in Europe for more than a half century. The better peltries were those of the otter, beaver, bear and buffalo. These were shipped to France and exchanged for shoes, fabrics, sugar and guns. Thus both countries were benefited, each getting things they could not then produce, but needed.

49. The First Steamboats.—In 1811, the *New Orleans*, the first steamboat built west of the Alleghany Mountains, made the trip from Pittsburg to New Orleans. This settled forever the question of the use of steam as a motive power on the western waters. In the next eight years sixty-three steamers were built and plied on the Ohio and Mississippi. On the second of August, 1817, the first steamboat that ever ascended the Mississippi above the mouth of the Ohio arrived at St. Louis. Its name was *General Pike* and its master was Jacob Read. On May 28, 1819, the *Independence*, the first steamboat to ascend the Missouri, arrived at Franklin, having been twelve days on the journey from St. Louis. Soon after this, steamboats became common on these rivers, and their appearance, which was at first dazzling, became a familiar sight. They added a new impetus to commerce and assisted much in the speedy delivery of the mails. Yet these conveniences could scarcely be compared to our modern railroads. It usually took a letter from four to six weeks to come from New York or Washington, and the postage on a single letter, even many years afterward, was twenty-five cents.

50. Business Depressions.—The last few years before Missouri's admission into the Union was a season of severe trial in finances. The year 1818 found nearly everybody in debt. The Bank of St. Louis was established in 1816, and

the next year the Bank of Missouri, with a capital of \$250,000, was organized. These for a time increased the volume of business, but also aided reckless speculation. Government land was sold for two dollars an acre, one-fourth to be paid in cash and the rest in two, three and four years. So numerous were the failures on account of the mania for speculation in land that rarely none but the first payment was made. Dealing at the stores was also upon credit. Payments were made with promissory notes or bank notes, which were considered as good as cash. These of course drove out the coin; and when the day of final settlement came there was no money with which to make payments. Land and all kinds of farm products, though abundant, were unsalable. The Territorial Legislature tried to give relief by issuing "land loan notes" which were made receivable for taxes and debts of every kind due the State. The United States Supreme Court set this act aside as being in violation of the provision of the Constitution which forbids any State to "issue bills of credit," and for doing so was of course roundly denounced, but relief came in time, though slowly, as is usual after such depressions.

51. Population.—The population of the entire territory now known as Missouri was about 20,000 in 1810. In 1820 it was 66,000. The population of St. Louis in 1811 was about 1400, "composed of a motley mixture of Canadian-French, a few Spaniards and other Europeans, and a somewhat larger proportion of Americans." In 1820 it was 4,928. Of the population of this territory in 1820 about 10,000 were slaves. The number of counties increased from five to fifteen in the ten years preceding 1820.

Questions on Chapter V.

1. Where was the first important English settlement? (38)
2. Who was in charge of it? (38)
3. Where were the settlers from? (38)
4. What is said of Daniel Boone? (39)
5. Who succeeded Wilkinson as Governor? (40)

6. When and by whom was this territory named Missouri? (40)
7. What is said of General Howard? (40)
8. Who succeeded him? (41)
9. What is said of Clark? (41)
10. Who was the first delegate in Congress? (41)
11. Name two others. (41)
12. What is said of Franklin? (42)
13. What is said of Howard county? (43)
14. For whom was it named? (40)
15. What is said of the immigrant? (44)
16. Describe pioneer life. (45)
17. Describe his house. (46)
18. What was used for money? (47)
19. What is said of lead? (48)
20. Of the fur trade? (48)
21. What was the first steamboat on the Ohio? (49)
22. What was the first to reach St. Louis? (49)
23. How long did it take the first steamboat to go from St. Louis to Franklin? (49)
24. How did steamboats help? (49)
25. What is said of financial troubles? (50)
26. Population in 1810 and 1820? (51)

PART III.

MISSOURI AS A STATE.

CHAPTER I.

THE ADMISSION OF MISSOURI INTO THE UNION.

52. Application to Become a State.—The Territorial Legislature made application for the admission of Missouri into the Union as a State in 1818. The application produced a violent sectional issue in American politics. It opened up a long acrimonious struggle between the North and South for political supremacy in the nation. That struggle, attended with bitterness from its beginning, continued up to the time of the Civil War, through that war, and has scarcely ended even yet. The people of Missouri wished to decide for themselves whether slavery should exist in the State. To this the North urged two strong objections.

53. First Objection.—The first was, the people were sure to permit slavery. It existed in the Territory at the time of the application; had been here for fifty years, and nothing was surer than that the people would not voluntarily abolish it. Since 1787 slavery had not existed north of the Ohio River, above the latitude of which lies much of Missouri. The admission of Missouri would be a precedent. If the privilege were given to her people to decide upon the existence of slavery within her borders, so must it be extended to the whole Louisiana Purchase. Missouri was on the border line between free and slave labor. The question, then, was whether Congress would interfere with the further extension of slavery. If permitted to exist in Missouri, without some

limitations, now agreed upon, it might, by the voice of the people, exist in all the Louisiana Purchase. Against its further extension many citizens throughout the North protested in the name of freedom, humanity and a higher civilization.

54. The Second Objection.—The second objection was, the admission of Missouri would turn over the control of the nation from the North to the South. It was also the real objection, the one which did most in controlling the Northern members in Congress. The Union had been originally formed of seven free and six slave States. Up to February, 1819, there had always been one more free than slave states, there being at this time eleven free States and ten slave States. All the Presidents except John Adams had been Southern men, but the free States had acquired a large and constantly increasing predominance in Congress. This was the political situation early in 1819 when the application of Missouri and Alabama to become States came up in Congress. Both were slave Territories, both had been settled by emigrants mostly from slave States, and of course it was assumed that their political affiliations would be with the South. If admitted, the number of slave States would be increased from ten to twelve, while the free States would remain eleven. This would give the South the ascendancy in the Senate, possibly in the House and nation.

55. Alabama.—Georgia had ceded Alabama's territory to the Union, and in doing so had made stipulations in regard to slavery, which were regarded by Congress as deciding that slavery as a form of labor might exist in that State. Accordingly Alabama was admitted without opposition as a slave State. This made the number of Northern and Southern States exactly the same. The fight for political supremacy, therefore, was not made over Alabama, but Missouri, which lay much further north, and was supposed to be connectional ground between the free-labor and the slavery States, and might, therefore, be claimed by either. The South

espoused the cause of the people of Missouri because it wished to gain political ascendancy in Congress and because it was intimately interested in the extension of slavery.

56. The Tallmadge Resolution.—The struggle for the admission of Missouri was precipitated in Congress by a resolution of Mr. Tallmadge of New York: "That the further introduction of slavery shall be prohibited; and that all children born within the State after the admission thereof shall be free at the age of twenty-five years." This led to a long discussion in which hot and bitter words were bandied to and fro with frequency. It will be remembered that when the contract of purchase was signed, transferring Louisiana from France to the United States, article third, written by the great Napoleon, provided that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and the religion which they profess." This contract, with this article in it, was accepted in 1803 by Congress. It was now seized upon by the opponents of the Tallmadge resolution as having settled the question of slavery in Missouri before her application for admission. Slaves, it was contended, were property. Slavery existed in the Territory when the terms of purchase from Napoleon were signed, when those terms were accepted by Congress, and had been here ever since. If, therefore, slavery was to be prohibited here it should be left to the State itself to do so. Besides, it was further contended that these terms of purchase were exactly similar in their tenor to the stipulations Georgia had made when ceding Alabama, which stipulations obtained for that State the right to abolish or maintain slavery as she pleased.

57. Discordant Views.—To deny Missouri the same right was, therefore, to take from her her dignity as one of a union of equal States, to make her yield to conditions which had never before been imposed on any State, and which would not now be attempted in her case if the free still outnumbered the slave States. This point was urged with great ability by John Scott, Missouri's delegate then in Congress, who felt that to deprive the people of the right of choosing their own local institutions was a humiliating condition, and violated the old maxim that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." In reply to him it was held that slavery existed only by virtue of a local law; that it had never been sanctioned by national laws, and that on the contrary the Constitution had from the first implied an opposition to it, in that it contained an agreement that the slave trade should cease in 1808. The supporters of the Tallmadge resolution further held that slavery was not only a moral wrong, a political evil, a commercial weakness, but it was contrary to universal freedom which must necessarily inhere in a republic. These views were so discordant that one would scarcely suppose a compromise for Missouri's admission could ever be reached. Yet such was the fact.

58. The Missouri Compromise.—This was accomplished by the application of Maine for admission in December, 1819, and while Missouri's case yet seemed hopeless. Maine would, of course, be a free State. Had she applied for admission at the same time Alabama and Missouri did, perhaps all the contention of which we have spoken would never have arisen. Then, admitting the three at once, the free would not have been outnumbered by the slave States. As it was, those in favor of letting Missouri settle the question of slavery for herself, declared both Missouri and Maine should be admitted without regard to slavery or both kept out. This brought on a deadlock in Congress, which lasted for weeks and finally ended in a measure known as the "Missouri

Compromise." This was an agreement that Maine should be brought into the Union; that Missouri should settle for herself the question of the existence of slavery within her territory; and that slavery should forever be prohibited from all other territory "north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude," which was the south line of Missouri. The agreement was implied, though not expressed, that Missouri should be admitted into the Union according to this agreement. This compromise opened up the way for Missouri's admission. In 1857, long after that was accomplished, the Supreme Court of the United States declared this compromise, by which slavery was excluded north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, unconstitutional, and that, therefore, the South had no right to yield to it and the North no right to ask it.

59. The First Constitution.—But the people of Missouri accepted the compromise as final, and began at once to form a State government. A convention to frame a Constitution met in a hotel, known as the "Mansion House," in St. Louis, early in June, 1820. David Barton was elected president. Among its members were some very able men. Some of them were afterwards very prominent in the affairs of the State, such as David Barton, Edward Bates, Alexander McNair, Thomas F. Riddick, John Rice Jones, Duff Green, Pierre Chouteau, Benjamin Reeves, Alexander Buckner, John D. Cook and John Scott. There were in all forty-one members. They were in session a little over a month, and spent for stationery \$26.25 and framed a Constitution which took effect immediately without submission to a vote of the people. This Constitution was to pass through the fiery ordeal of being approved by Congress before Missouri could become a State. As had been supposed all along, the Constitution permitted the existence of slavery. It was reasonably and properly supposed by the people of Missouri and by the South that the Northern delegates had consented to this

by the agreement known as the Missouri Compromise. But now when the State claimed a fulfillment of this promise Congress would not stand to the agreement, and hence a second compromise had to be agreed upon.

60. One Clause of Missouri's Constitution stipulated its Legislature should enact a law to "prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the State." This clause, it was now contended, was contrary to a provision of the Federal Constitution which guaranteed to "the citizens of each State the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." The members of Congress from the North held that free negroes were recognized as citizens in some of the old States and hence this clause in Missouri's Constitution was in conflict with the Federal Constitution. Prior to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868, there was nothing in the Constitution of the United States declaring who were citizens or what qualification a person must have to be a citizen. By that amendment all persons born or naturalized in the United States were made citizens. But before Missouri's application for admission into the Union it had always been held that each State could say for itself who were its citizens, and who should not be. And Missouri now claimed she, too, had that right.

61. An Unreasonable Contention.—This contention of those opposed to Missouri's admission led to an absurdity. If one State could declare a certain class of persons "citizens" and then the Constitution should come in and say all the other States should therefore acknowledge them as citizens, too, and should extend to these citizens all the privileges and immunities of citizens of each of these respective States, of course there would be no limit to citizenship. "Free negroes" would not alone be citizens. One State might declare a Chinaman or an Indian a citizen, and by this claim all the other States must acknowledge him a citizen, and must have nothing in their laws which would not allow him "all

the privileges and immunities" of any of their own citizens. This, of course, led to an absurdity. The object of the clause in the Missouri Constitution was to keep persons from settling within her borders who might disturb the peace and cause unrest among the slaves. Illinois had exactly the same law as late as 1846, and Congress at no time attempted to interfere with it. This clause, however, was the subject for long and bitter discussion in the House. The Senate saw the absurdity and dishonesty of such opposition and soon became in favor of admission.

62. The Clay Compromise.—It was at this time that the great Henry Clay, of Kentucky, came to the rescue. He has been called the author of the Missouri Compromise. This is a mistake. Mr. Thomas, of Illinois, was the author of that measure, yet Mr. Clay gave it his powerful support. But he was the author of the second compromise. He induced the House to agree to leave the provision for the admission of the State to a committee of twenty-three members from the House—the then number of States—to act jointly with a committee from the Senate. This committee reported to the House a resolution admitting Missouri whenever her Legislature should pass a Solemn Public Act repealing the clause in reference to the exclusion of free negroes and mulattoes, and when this was done the President should proclaim her admitted. This resolution passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-eight to fourteen, and the House by the narrow vote of eighty-six to eighty-two.

63. The Solemn Public Act.—Then the Governor of Missouri called the Legislature together to pass the Solemn Public Act. It first spoke of the absurdity of Congress in demanding it, declared if any clause in the State Constitution was in conflict with the Federal Constitution that clause was therefore void and had always been; but "to give to the world the most unequivocal proof of her desire to promote the peace and harmony of the Union," it there "solemnly and

publicly declared and enacted" that no part "of the Constitution of this State shall ever be construed to authorize the passage of any law by which any citizen of either of the United States shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizens are entitled under the Constitution of the United States." A certified copy of this act was sent to President Monroe. He promptly issued a proclamation declaring the admission of the State complete. The precise date thereof was August 10, 1821. Thus ended for a time the mighty struggle between the North and the South which forty years later culminated in the Civil War.

Questions on Chapter I.

1. What was the effect of Missouri's application to become a State? (52)
2. What right did the people of Missouri claim for themselves? (52)
3. What was the first objection to this? (53)
4. What argument was used to support it? (53)
5. In the name of what did the North protest against the further extension of slavery? (53)
6. What was the second objection to Missouri's admission? (54)
7. What was the relative political strength of the North and South at that time? (54)
8. What is said of Alabama? (55)
9. Why was the opposition waged around Missouri? (55)
10. What was the Tallmadge resolution? (56)
11. What was the third article of the contract of the Louisiana purchase? (56)
12. How was it argued that this article settled the question? (56)
13. What did John Scott contend? (57)
14. What two replies were made to him? (57)
15. What prepared the way for a settlement? How so? (58)
16. What were the terms of the Missouri Compromise? (58)
17. How did the people of Missouri accept the Compromise? (59)
18. When was the first Constitution framed? (59)
19. Name some of the members of the convention. (59)
20. What objection was urged to the Constitution? (60)
21. What did this contention lead to? (61) Why? (61)
22. How did the Senate regard it? (61)
23. What was the second compromise? (62)

24. What was the Solemn Public Act? (63)
25. By what body was it enacted? (63)
26. When was Missouri admitted to the Union? (63)

CHAPTER II.

FIRST YEARS AS A STATE.

64. The First Election.—The first election under the new Constitution was held on the fourth Monday of August, 1820. Political parties did not divide the voters. On the contrary, the personal popularity and merits of the several candidates determined the result, for the most part. Alexander McNair and William Clark, both of St. Louis, were the candidates for Governor. The latter had been the Territorial Governor for seven years. He was now defeated by a majority of 4020 votes in a total vote of 9132. William H. Ashley of St. Louis was elected Lieutenant-Governor. The State Government in all its branches did not immediately go into effect. It was far into the year 1821 before either the Circuit or Supreme courts were in operation.

65. First Governor.—Alexander McNair was born in Pennsylvania in 1774, and received a fair English education.



Alexander McNair.

His parents died about the time he became of age, and he and his brother agreed upon the division of their estate in a novel manner—that whosoever should be the victor in a fair fight should be the owner of the homestead. Alexander received a severe whipping at the hands of his brother, to which he afterwards acknowledged he owed the honor of being Governor of Missouri. In 1804 he moved to St. Louis, and for a number

of years was United States commissary for that Army station. In the city tax list of 1811 he appears as taxed for one of the nineteen "carriages for pleasure" then owned in the city. During the War of 1812 he was colonel of Missouri militia in the United States service. He was elected Governor in 1820, and held office till 1824, and died in St. Louis in 1826. He was a man of great popularity and strict integrity.

66. New Counties and David Barton.—The General Assembly, which is the name given the legislative branch of the State Government, was composed at its first session of fourteen Senators and forty-three Representatives. At that session, which met in St. Louis in September, 1820, acts were passed creating the counties of Boone, Callaway, Chariton, Cole, Gasconade, Lafayette, Perry, Ralls, Ray and Saline. Most of these were carved from the territory first embraced in Howard County.

David Barton and Thomas Hart Benton were elected United States Senators. They were not allowed to take their seats in the Senate, however, until 1821, because the State was not admitted into the Union until August 10th of that year. Mr. Barton was a native of Tennessee and was a soldier in the War of 1812. He had served as judge of the circuit court a short time about 1816, but had no brilliant career as a jurist. He was a fluent orator and at the time of the admission of Missouri was the most popular man in the State. He was chairman of the convention that framed the State Constitution and was unanimously elected to the Senate in 1820 and re-elected in 1825. During his last term he became unpopular in the State because of his espousal of the cause of John Quincy Adams for the Presidency against General Jackson, who was a great favorite in Missouri. Accordingly, in 1833 he was defeated as a candidate for Congress, but afterwards served one term in the State Senate. He died near Boonville in 1837.

67. Benton and Lucas.—Thomas H. Benton was elected United States Senator with Mr. Barton, but not without great opposition. Mr. Benton had been a resident of Tennessee, had there been a member of the Legislature, and attained to the rank of colonel as commander of a Tennessee regiment in the War of 1812. But his brother, Jesse Benton, and Amos Carroll had there fought a duel. Andrew Jackson had earnestly espoused the cause of Carroll, which led Thomas Benton to vigorously denounce Jackson. In return Jackson attempted to horsewhip Benton on the streets of Nashville, and was shot in the arm by Jesse Benton. This made the Bentons very unpopular in Tennessee, and in 1813 Thomas Benton came to Missouri. In 1817 he had a very noted duel with Charles Lucas, at that time United States attorney for the district of Missouri, and a son of the first chief justice of the Territory. Lucas was about twenty-five years old and Benton was thirty-five. Lucas had challenged Benton, and when the fight came off was wounded in the neck, but not killed. He expressed himself as satisfied. Then Benton in a violent rage demanded of Lucas that they fight till one or the other was killed. This they did three weeks later, at a time when Lucas was still weak from a loss of blood from the wound received in the previous duel, and Lucas was killed. In the minds of many people this action of Mr. Benton was regarded as murder, and lost him many friends in the new State. He was opposed for the Senate by his adversary's father, Judge Lucas, and the balloting ran through several days without a choice. Finally Mr. Barton said he preferred Benton for his associate. He was accordingly elected, and served for thirty years, lacking five months, a longer time than was ever served by any Senator from any State until within recent years.

68. The First Congressman.—Missouri was then entitled to only one Congressman. John Scott was elected. He had for some time been the Territorial delegate and was a man of ability. He was born in Virginia in 1782, graduated

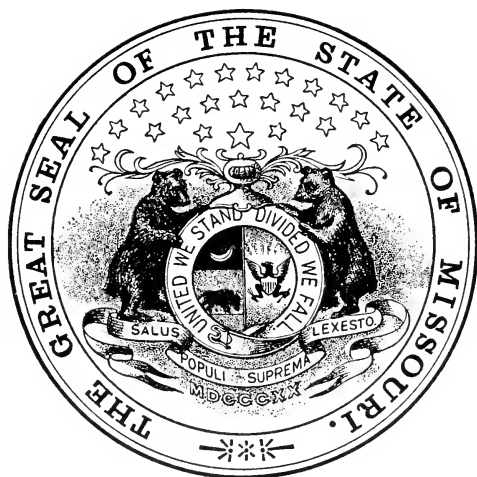
at Princeton College in 1805, and soon afterwards settled at Ste. Genevieve; was a delegate in Congress from the Territory of Missouri from 1817 to 1821 and then a Representative in Congress till 1827, where he took high rank as a man of educated talent and bold integrity. When the contest came up in the House of Representatives for the election of a President he voted for John Quincy Adams, and was supported in his action by Senator Barton, but opposed by Benton, who favored Jackson. As a consequence Scott was never again returned to Congress. Nor did he ever again seek a public office.

69. The Supreme Court.—By the terms of the Constitution the judges of the Supreme and Circuit courts were to be appointed by the Governor, and the appointments confirmed by the Senate. This law remained in force till 1851, when it was changed, and judges thereafter were elected just as other officers. The first members of the Supreme Court were Mathias McGirk of Montgomery County, John D. Cook of Cape Girardeau, and John Rice Jones of Pike County. They were all men of great probity and judicial learning, and were appointed without any regard to their politics. Mr. McGirk remained a member of the court until 1841. Mr. Cook resigned within a year or two, and Judge Jones died in 1824. Both had been members of the Constitutional Convention. Judge Jones had also been very prominent in the Territorial days as a member and president of the Legislative Council. He was the first English-speaking lawyer west of the Mississippi River. George Tompkins was appointed in place of Mr. Jones, and served till 1845, twenty-one years, and then retired, having become sixty-five years old, beyond which age no person was then legally capable of being judge.

70. The State Seal.—The Constitution of Missouri provided that the Secretary of State should procure a seal of the State with suitable emblems and devices, "which should not be subject to change." The Legislature of 1822 directed what

the devices and emblems should be, and the present seal was fashioned and has been in use since. The following is a description of it: On

an inner circular shield, equally divided by a perpendicular line, is a red field on the right side (the reader's left) in which is the grizzly or white bear of Missouri. Above, separated by a wave line, is a white or silver crescent in an azure field. On the left, on a white



field, are the arms of the United States. A band surrounds this circular shield, on which are the words, "United we stand, divided we fall." For the crest, over a yellow or golden helmet is a silver star, and above it is a constellation of twenty-three smaller stars—Missouri being the twenty-fourth State to unite with the Union, the large star represents her and the other stars the rest of the Union. The supporters are two grizzly or white bears, standing on a scroll on which is inscribed the motto of the State, "*Salus populi suprema lex esto*"—let the welfare of the people be the supreme law. Underneath the scroll are the numerals, MDCCCXX, which was the year of the adoption of the first Constitution. Around the entire circle are the words, "The Great Seal of the State of Missouri." This seal is still kept in the office of the Secretary of State, and is stamped on all commissions of officers and on every contract to which the State becomes a party.

Questions on Chapter II.

1. When was the first election held? (64)
 2. Who was the first Governor of the State? (64)
 3. What is said of Alexander McNair? (65)
 4. Of what was the first Legislature composed? (66)
 5. What counties were organized at this session? (66)
 6. Who were the first United States Senators from Missouri? (66)
 7. What is said of David Barton? (66)
 8. What is said of Thomas Benton? (67)
 9. What caused him great opposition in the State? (67)
 10. Who was the first Congressman? (68)
 11. Give a sketch of his life? (68)
 12. How were the first Supreme and Circuit Court judges chosen? (69)
 13. Who were the first Supreme Court judges? (69)
 14. How long could a judge serve under the first Constitution? (69)
 15. Describe the State Seal. (70)
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CHAPTER III.**BATES AND MILLER—1824-32.**

71. The Second Governor.—The second Governor was Frederick Bates of St. Louis. He had been prominent in the Territorial days and was a member of the Constitutional Convention. His opponent was William H. Ashley who had been Lieutenant-Governor during McNair's administration, and who, because of his daring intrepidity in advancing the fur trade into the Rocky Mountains and in fighting the Indians, had invested his character with much romance. But Bates was successful. Before Mr. Bates had served a year as Governor, the people were called upon to mourn his death. Benjamin Reeves of Howard County had been elected Lieutenant-Governor along with him, and the office of Governor would have fallen to him until a special election could have been held had he not resigned before the death of Governor Bates, to become one of the Government commissioners in the opening up of the noted road from Leavenworth to Santa Fe. Under the law, therefore, the

office devolved on the President of the Senate *pro tempore*, who at that time was Abraham J. Williams of Columbia, and who at once began to exercise the duties of Governor. But he was not permitted to fill out the remainder of the Governor's term. Under the Constitution of 1820 the Lieutenant-Governor (or if there was a vacancy in that office, the President of the Senate *pro tempore*), on the death or resignation of the Governor, succeeded to the office, and held it only until a special election could be held to fill the vacancy, unless the balance of the term was less than eighteen months. Governor Williams proclaimed a special election to be held December 8, 1825, which resulted in the election of John Miller of Howard County, who served out the remainder of the term. This was the only time in the history of the State that the President of the Senate *pro tempore* became Governor.

72. Frederick Bates.—Frederick Bates was born in Goochland County, Virginia, in 1777. His education was begun in a private family school and ended in an academy. He studied law and at the age of twenty went to Detroit, a military post, and became its postmaster. In 1805 he was appointed by President Jefferson the first judge of the Territory of Michigan. In 1806 he moved to St. Louis, and from that time till Missouri became a State Mr. Bates was continually in some capacity a Territorial officer. He was Secretary of the Territory under Governors Lewis, Howard and Clark and during the interims between their administrations he was acting Governor, and also during their protracted absence from the Territory. In 1808 he compiled the "Laws of the Territory of Louisiana," the first book printed in St. Louis. In 1824 he was elected Governor to succeed McNair, without any solicitation or effort on his part. He died August 4, 1825.

73. Duels.—Duelling had become a threatening evil among the prominent men of Missouri, and had greatly

shocked public sensibility. Many of the duels had been fought on an island in the Mississippi River below St. Louis, which was long afterward known as "Bloody Island." During the administration of Governor Bates the Legislature undertook to break up this barbarous practice by making it odious. A bill passed both houses making the "whipping post" the mode of punishment. But the Governor vetoed the bill because he could not approve of whipping as the penalty. In his veto message he said: "I am happy to record my utter detestation and abhorrence of dueling. My duty to my neighbors and myself would compel me, if possible, to put down so barbarous and so impious a practice." After his veto the bill failed to pass. This is the first recorded veto by a Governor of Missouri of which we have any knowledge.

74. The Visit of Lafayette.—The year 1825 was made memorable by the visit of Marquis de Lafayette, and his son, George Washington Lafayette, to St. Louis. This great man, after an absence of fifty years in his own beloved France, had on the invitation of the President of the United States made a visit to the country whose independence he had done so much to win. While his own land had been filled with tumult, war and poverty, he now found the thirteen Colonies developed into a strong young nation of twenty-six States, happy, prosperous and free. He visited every State, and in St. Louis, whose inhabitants were largely French, he was received with great favor. His entrance into the city was an ovation—not like the triumph of a military conqueror, but like that of a devoted father and patriarch returning to his own after a long absence in a patriotic trust elsewhere. He came up the Mississippi, landed at the city on April 29, 1825, where half of its population had assembled to meet him, all familiar with his name, and many of them of the same blood and familiar with his language.

75. The Capital of Missouri was by the Constitution of 1820 to be fixed on the Missouri River within forty miles of the mouth of the Osage; and at its first session thereafter the General Assembly appointed a commission of five men to determine upon its location, and they chose Jefferson City, and the first session of the Legislature held there was in 1826. Prior thereto it had held its sessions at St. Charles. Congress had granted the State four sections of land to be used for the seat of government and for raising money to erect a suitable State house. Most of these were sold, and the proceeds were used to pay the costs of the new building. The Capitol, begun in 1823 and completed in 1826, burned down in 1837, and a new one, erected in 1838, was enlarged in 1887 to more than twice its original size. Just about nightfall on February 5, 1911, a bolt of lightning from an almost cloudless sky struck the Capitol dome, and again it burned down. The Constitution of 1875 declared that the General Assembly should have no power to remove the seat of government from Jefferson City. The Legislature in 1895 submitted to the people an amendment to the Constitution providing for the removal of the capital to Sedalia, but by an overwhelming vote they rejected it. After the fire in 1911 there began a small agitation for the removal of the capital to St. Louis, but the General Assembly refused to submit to the people any such proposition, but did submit one for the issuance and sale of \$3,500,000 in bonds, to provide means for building a new capitol in Jefferson City, and the people overwhelmingly approved of that proposition. The law required the new building to be erected on the same site on which the former capitol had stood, and provided that its construction should be committed to a commission of four men, to be chosen by the five chief executive officers of the State, and they chose Edwin W. Stephens of Columbia, Joseph C. A. Hiller of Glencoe, Alfred A. Speer of Chamois and Theo. Lacaff of Nevada; and the new Capitol they erected

is one of the finest in all the states, and by its quiet majesty bespeaks the solid worth of Missouri people.

76. John Miller.—In 1828 General Miller was re-elected Governor, without opposition. The Adams party, which was now beginning to be called the Whig party, had no candidate. Daniel Dunklin, of Potosi, was elected Lieutenant-Governor. Miller's administration was most satisfactory to the people. He was born in Berkeley County, Virginia, November 25, 1781, reared on a farm, and had the advantage of a common school education only. He evinced his predilection for military life when a boy by always "playing soldier," and his ability to lead by always being captain of his company. In the early part of the last century he located at Steubenville, Ohio, where he edited and published a newspaper. While thus engaged, he was appointed general of the State militia of Ohio, and held the rank of colonel in the United States Army throughout the War of 1812. He commanded the Nineteenth United States Infantry and was assigned to duty under General William Henry Harrison. At the close of the war he was retained in the Standing Army and ordered to duty in Missouri. In 1817 he resigned his command and held the office of Register of Lands till 1825, when he was elected Governor. He was re-elected in 1828, and served till 1832. Thus he was Governor for nearly seven years—a longer period than has ever been extended to any other Governor. He afterwards was a Representative in Congress for six years, and died March 18, 1846.



John Miller.

77. General Prosperity.—Governor Miller's administration was a time of general prosperity. The great body of the people were quietly toiling and preparing for the rising greatness of the State. All kinds of agricultural industry were followed with profit. At first most products sold at very low prices: wheat at fifty cents per bushel, potatoes at fifty cents, flour at one dollar and fifty cents per hundred and pork at the same price, cows at from eight to twelve dollars and working oxen at from thirty to forty dollars. But these low prices were largely due to the difficulty of reaching the world's markets. Toward the close of his term steamboats became more frequent on the rivers, and transportation cheaper and easier. Then prices became better.

78. Prairie Fires.—The "prairie fires" at this time presented a sight never to be seen again. The prairies and woods were filled with snakes and numerous wild animals. To destroy these and prevent vegetation from decaying, in the nights of spring and fall the "prairie fires" were set, and made a beautiful scene, though sometimes attended with danger. It is fairly well established that the entire Ozark regions, now the timbered section of the State, prior to the beginning of the nineteenth century were denuded of trees by these fires. At any rate they were spoken of by explorers and travelers as undulating hills and broken prairies.

79. The Election of 1832.—At the election in 1832 there were three candidates for Governor. Daniel Dunklin of Washington County was the Democratic, Dr. John Bull of Howard was the anti-Jackson candidate, and Samuel C. Davis was an independent candidate. Dunklin was elected by a majority of about 1,100. The Lieutenant-Governor was Lilburn W. Boggs of Jackson County. Dr. Bull and William H. Ashley were the same year elected members of Congress, under a new apportionment which gave Missouri two Representatives instead of one. Governor Dunklin was inaugurated November 22, 1832.

Questions on Chapter III.

1. Who was the second Governor of the State? (71)
2. Who was his opponent? (71)
3. What profitable trade did he advance? (71)
4. How long did Bates serve? (71)
5. Who succeeded to his office on his death? (71)
6. Why did not the Lieutenant-Governor do so? (71)
7. Who was elected Governor in 1825? (71)
8. Give a sketch of the life of Bates? (72)
9. What is said of dueling? (73)
10. What is thought to be the first Governor's veto? (73)
11. Describe the visit of Lafayette to St. Louis. (74)
12. What is said of the capital of Missouri? (75)
13. When was an attempt made to move it? (75)
14. How? (75)
15. Who was elected Governor in 1828? (76)
16. What was the Adams party now called? (76)
17. What is said of John Miller? (76)
18. What is said of Miller's administration? (77)
19. Why were prices low? (77)
20. What is said of prairie fires? (78)
21. Who were the candidates for Governor in 1832? (79)
22. Who was elected? (79)

CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNOR DUNKLIN'S ADMINISTRATION—1832-36.

80. Governor Dunklin.—Daniel Dunklin, fourth Governor of Missouri, was born in South Carolina in 1790; moved to Kentucky in 1807, and to Potosi, Missouri, in 1810. He was sheriff of Washington County while Missouri was yet a Territory, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1820. He became Governor in November, 1832, and espoused the cause of public schools so ardently that he may be justly called the father of the common school system of Missouri. One month before his term as Governor expired he resigned to accept the office of Surveyor-General of Missouri, Illinois and Arkansas, which had been tendered him by President Jackson. In this capacity he established the boundary line between Missouri and Arkansas, and laid out many of the counties of these three States. He died in 1844, and is buried near Pevely, Jefferson County, on the serene bluffs overlooking the Mississippi—one of the most beautiful places on the majestic river.



Daniel Dunklin.

81. Cholera.—The Asiatic cholera, perhaps the most violent epidemic ever known in America, reached St. Louis in 1832. It had devastated cities in Europe; had crossed the seas and invaded New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. The people of St. Louis had taken warning and made vigorous efforts to prevent its coming by using proper food and care-

fully cleaning the streets. But the deadly malady nestled in the wings of the wind and baffled all opposition. It first attacked a soldier at Jefferson Barracks, at the outskirts of the city. It then spread rapidly among the people, many of whom fled to other climates. It lasted six or seven weeks. During a greater part of this time there were from twenty to thirty deaths a day. When it finally disappeared there had fallen one in every twelve of the city's population. It also appeared the same year in Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and other places, but the next year it prevailed with greater fatality in them. In 1849 it came again to St. Louis, with more direful results. In the midst of the consternation which seized upon the people a board of physicians pronounced against a vegetable diet and in favor of meat, and the city council passed a law prohibiting the use or sale of vegetables. The people, interpreting this to mean that meat was a remedy for the disease, engorged themselves with it, eating even to gluttony. The price arose to enormous sums. But in a month or two the undue stimulating effects of the meat diet were seen, and the ordinance repealed. But still the number of deaths reached one hundred and sixty a day, and between April 30th and August 6th, 4,060 persons died from cholera alone. In 1850 and 1851 and again in 1867, it prevailed at various points along the Mississippi and Missouri, but rarely reached the towns a few miles from the river courses. In all these places the dreadful pestilence stalked the land leaving death and despair in its wake. The healthiest and stoutest men were often the first stricken. Persons of robust bodies would be attacked and in three or four hours waste away to skin and bones. So infectious was the disease supposed to be that burials frequently took place at night by torch light, and often women and even parents assisted in burying their own dead.

82. The Platte Purchase forms a unique niche in our American history. It was a procedure by which a large

tract of land was added to an already large State. It was brought about by the inhabitants of Clay and adjoining counties, led by men then or afterwards prominent in the State, and all gentlemen of ability and honor. Among them were General Andrew S. Hughes, who was said to be scarcely second to the celebrated John Randolph in wit and sarcasm and was a lawyer of excellent parts; William T. Wood, afterwards a resident of Lexington and a well-known judge; A. W. Doniphan, the brave commander of "Doniphan's Expedition" of the Mexican War; and David R. Atchison, afterwards United States Senator. With the assistance of these gentlemen, Senators Benton and Linn pushed through Congress a bill by which all the country now embraced in the counties of Atchison, Andrew, Buchanan, Holt, Nodaway and Platte became a part of Missouri. On September 17, 1836, Captain William Clark, who had been superintendent of Indian affairs throughout Missouri since the time he was the Territorial Governor, formed a treaty with the Sac, Fox, and Iowa Indians, by which they ceded this territory to the United States. In return the Indians were given \$7,500 and four hundred sections of land in northwestern Kansas, and the entire country, therefore, has been known as the Platte Purchase. It all lies between the Missouri River and a meridian line drawn through the mouth of the Kansas River, at Kansas City, and comprises one of the richest bodies of land to be found anywhere. In December, 1836, Congress passed a law opening the country to settlement, and the next year found it teeming with people from every State, and many came from Canada, on account of the Canadian rebellion. In a few years Platte County was next to St. Louis in population, and sent three members to the Legislature, and Buchanan sent two. This ascendancy continued till the large emigration to Kansas in 1856.

83. The Election for Governor in 1836 took place in August, and was preceded by a warm campaign. Lilburn

W. Boggs was the Democratic candidate, and William H. Ashley of St. Louis, the Whig candidate. Boggs was elected, and Franklin Cannon of Cape Girardeau was chosen Lieutenant-Governor. The vote at this election was sixty per cent greater than it had been four years before. In November John Miller of Howard and Albert G. Harrison of Callaway county were elected Representatives in Congress.

Questions on Chapter IV.

1. Who was the fourth Governor of Missouri? (80)
2. Who was the father of the Public School system? (80)
3. What further is said of Dunklin? (80)
4. What is said of the Asiatic cholera? (81)
5. When did it first come and what places did it visit? (81)
6. When did it next come and what results attended it in St. Louis? (81)
7. When and where did it come again? (81)
8. How did it attack the people? (81)
9. What is said of the Platte Purchase procedure? (82)
10. Who were the principal men in the movement? (82)
11. What counties did it add to Missouri? (82)
12. Who conducted the negotiations with the Indians? (82)
13. What were the terms of exchange? (82)
14. What Indian tribes were concerned in the purchase? (82)
15. What is said of the settlement of the country? (82)
16. In what months were the elections of 1836 held? (83)

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNOR BOGGS AND MORMON TROUBLES.

84. Governor Boggs.—Lilburn W. Boggs was born at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1796. He served as a soldier in the War of 1812, and in 1816 came to Missouri, first settling at St. Louis, then at St. Charles, Franklin, and in Jackson County, being engaged most of the time in the fur trade. In 1826 he was elected to the Legislature, and served in that body during several sessions. In 1832 he became Lieutenant-Governor, and on the resignation of Governor Dunklin assumed the

duties of his office. He was elected Governor in his own right within a month, inaugurated November 23, 1836, and served four years. He was afterwards a leading member of the State Senate, and in 1846 moved to California, where he filled honorable public offices, and died in 1861.

85. Mormon Troubles.—The founder of Mormonism was Joseph Smith, an uneducated and superstitious youth of New York, who regarded himself as the "Revelator and Prophet" of a new faith, and asserted that he was, by divine appointment, to establish a kingdom as precursory to the millennial reign of Christ on Earth. He was born in Vermont in 1805, and moved with his parents to New York about 1815. He was there known as a lazy boy, who claimed to have visions and to "hear heavenly voices." He asserted that in 1823 an angel Moroni (son of Mormon) appeared to him one night and revealed the place where the Bible of the Western Continent, which was an enlargement of the New Testament, could be found on a certain hill, and that four years later on the anniversary of that night he dug up on that hill a stone box, in which was a volume six inches thick, made of thin gold plates, seven by eight inches in size, and fastened together by three gold rings. The plates were covered with small written characters, resembling Egyptian hieroglyphics, which Smith could not read; but in the box was a pair of supernatural spectacles with diamond lenses, and by aid of these the mystic characters could be read. With Martin Harris as a scribe, and David Whitmer and Oliver Cowdery as witnesses, all stationed behind a curtain, Smith read from the plates and Harris wrote down; and thus the original *Book of Mormon* came into existence. It was printed at Palmyra, New York, about the year 1830, accompanied by a sworn statement of "The Testimony of the Three Witnesses" that an angel of God had shown them the golden plates of which the book was a translation. According to Smith the plates soon afterwards disappeared, having been taken away

by the angel Moroni. The *Book of Mormon* declared Smith to be "God's prophet," and he was ever afterwards known by his followers as the "Prophet Joseph." The book has been the mythical source of Mormon faith, and strange as it may seem has been accepted by the faithful Mormon as a revelation from God of equal authority with the Bible.

86. At Independence.—Smith made some converts in New York, but was unsuccessfully prosecuted in the courts. In 1831 he moved to Ohio, and the next year to Jackson County, Missouri, where he found the "Zion" of his prophecy at Independence, and named it the "New Jerusalem." The "Saints" owned all things in common, and entered much land, though the most of the titles were in the bishops. They established the "Lord's Storehouse" at the New Jerusalem, and started the *Evening Star*, the first newspaper published in that part of the State, in which weekly appeared "revelations" promising wonderful things to the faithful. All persons not Mormons were called "Gentiles." Curses were pronounced upon them. The Mormons constituted about one-third of the population of the county. In their newspaper they declared they were to possess the land, and their leaders proclaimed the same thing. A fear was aroused in the Gentiles that the Mormons, so rapidly were their converts arriving, would soon be in the majority, would elect the judges and other officers, and would then take away their property and personal rights. Their opposition became aggressive. They tarred and feathered two of their leaders and threw their printing press into the street. An encounter took place between the Mormons and Gentiles in 1833, near the present Kansas City, in which the latter were defeated, and two Gentiles and one Mormon were killed. Then the Mormons determined to drive out the Gentiles from Independence, but in the struggles which followed the Gentiles were successful and compelled the Mormons to cross the river into Clay, Carroll and chiefly Caldwell County.

87. Far West.—In Caldwell County the Mormons began another town and called it "Far West," and Smith promised it would soon become one of the mighty cities of the world. Missionaries canvassed the East, and even Canada and England, for converts. They poured into the new town rapidly. Settlements soon extended into four or five counties. In 1837 work was begun on a temple at Far West. It was to be the most magnificent in the world. But it was never to be completed. Many industrious and enterprising persons had been drawn there. Numerous thieves had also come. They believed it was safe for them to steal from the Gentiles, and wandered through the country appropriating whatever they saw and desired—especially after the opposition to the Mormons became active. Not all the Mormons were thieves—far from it—but the majority of the people were Mormons, and they inflicted no punishment upon the thieves; and as the thieves claimed also to be Mormons, the Gentiles did not discriminate, but directed their opposition to all alike. Bitter feeling against the Mormons broke out anew. The divine authority claimed for Smith by himself and his followers was scoffed and scorned. Their religious professions and practices were derided. Smith talked about exterminating his enemies and acquiring possession of Missouri. Suspicions daily increased. Conditions became inflamed. Violence at first consisted of heated discussions and fist fights. Then there was an occasional murder or the burning of an isolated dwelling. On the day of the general election in August, 1838, a fight between the Mormons and Gentiles occurred at Gallatin, the Mormons using heavy oak clubs, and a few persons were killed. After this occurrence hostility between the two classes rapidly spread. A state of general lawlessness in these three or four counties was fast approaching. That condition called to the citizens in other parts of the State to take a hand.

88. Outside Interference.—The next effort to drive out the Mormons began at DeWitt on the Missouri River in Carroll County. Here the Mormons had established a thriving settlement. It had a good wharf for boats and was the best port for Far West trade. Colonel George W. Hinkle was the principal man of the town. A committee of citizens, led by Rev. Sarchel Woods, notified him that at a large meeting in Carrollton it had been determined to drive the Mormons from Carroll County. Hinkle drew his sword and defiantly threatened death to all persons who would interfere with the Saints. "Put up your sword, Colonel," said Mr. Woods; "I am an old pioneer, have heard the Indians yell, the wolves howl and the owls hoot; and am not alarmed at such demonstrations." But Hinkle did not go, and toward the last days of September, 1838, four or five hundred troops, under Congreve Jackson of Howard County, had bivouacked near the town. The Mormons were reinforced also, and the Gentiles were anxious for a fray. But Judge Earickson, also of Howard County, interfered in the interest of amicable settlement. The Mormons finally agreed to leave, to pay for all the cattle stolen, and the Gentiles were to pay first cost on the lands. Men, women and children loaded their goods into wagons and started a long, sad train for Far West.

89. Mormons Expelled.—After the Mormons were expelled from DeWitt troubles broke out afresh in Daviess County. Armed bands of Mormons traversed the county, terrifying the Gentiles. They burned a store, the post office and five or six dwellings in Gallatin, and robbed the postmaster; they burned Mill Port; dwellings in different parts of the county were burned and their owners robbed; probably a third of the Gentile inhabitants of the county abandoned their homes, and fled for safety to other counties. Then the Mormons made a fatal mistake. The Governor had sent small bands of militia into these counties in an attempt to restore order. A company of fifty militia, commanded by

Captain Samuel Bogart, was encamped at a place called Buncombe, on Crooked River, twelve or more miles north of Richmond, near the Ray County border. The Mormons had threatened to invade that county, and Bogart was stationed along its northern line to patrol and guard it. Among the Mormons was a cruel band, at the first called the "United Brothers of Gideon" and later "Danites," bound by a secret oath to "put down the Lord's enemies." On October 25th, 1838, David Patten, called by the Mormons "Captain Fear Not," with a hundred or more Mormons, the most of them Danites, made an attack on Captain Bogart, and ten of the militia were killed. The antipathy to the Mormons now became general. Governor Boggs as soon as he knew of the attack on Captain Bogart called out almost the entire militia of the State to "put down the insurgents and enforce the laws." He placed General John B. Clark of Fayette in supreme command, and instructed him that "the Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the State if necessary for the public peace." The militia began to move quickly from dozens of points in northern and western Missouri. Within two or three days General Clark was on the march to Far West with a thousand men. But before he arrived General Samuel D. Lucas had started from Independence, and was joined on the way by General A. W. Doniphan of Clay and General H. G. Parks of Ray, the Mormons fleeing before them and concentrating their forces at Far West. General Lucas with 2,500 men invested that town on the 30th. But there was no battle. The Mormons had become dispirited by the death of Patten, their leader in the assault on Captain Bogart. They had believed him protected by an angel and immune from death in battle with the Gentiles. Their Prophet had told the Danites that the Lord would send angels to fight for them. When they learned that Patten had been shot down in that mad assault they lost heart. Their leaders as soon as General Lucas had surrounded

their town sent Colonel Hinkle to inquire if there could not be some settlement of the difficulties without a resort to arms. They offered no resistance whatever, and quickly accepted the hard terms proposed by Lucas. They were to deliver up their arms, surrender their prominent leaders for trial, and all other Mormons should leave the State. General Clark arrived three days later, and the weather being inclement reinstated in their homes such of the Mormons as had not left, and modified the terms requiring them to leave forthwith by extending the time to the first of the next April. He also sent General Robert Wilson of Chariton County on to Adam-on-diahmon, another stronghold of the Mormon, in Daviess County, near Grand River, who effected its surrender.

Much distress followed the terms of surrender and consequent removal. Joseph Smith and ten of the principal men among the Mormons were lodged in jail charged with treason or murder. More than twenty others were required to give bond to appear in court to be tried for arson or robbery. All the other prisoners, amounting to about 600 men who had taken up arms, were paroled upon condition that they leave the State. They and the Mormons had looked to their leaders for guidance, and now those leaders were taken from them. They obeyed without resistance the requirement to leave. Many of them were poor. Like most early settlers in Missouri they had put most of their money into land. With this they were required to part, and did so for almost nothing. Farms were traded for a horse, or a wagon, or a yoke of oxen, or simply abandoned. Most of their number, about 4,000 at that time in and around Far West, went to Nauvoo, Illinois. Trustworthy writers have asserted that as many as 15,000 went from Missouri to Nauvoo. The terms imposed upon them seem hard and extreme. But General Robert Wilson, who was a thoroughly honorable man, in his written report said that "the Mormons themselves appeared pleased with

the idea of getting away from their enemies and a justly insulted people" and "applied for and received permits to leave the county." Far West, whose site was about eight miles southwest of Hamilton, and near the present village of Kerr, has entirely disappeared as a town.

90. Among the Leaders Surrendered were Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, Amasa Lyman, Lyman Gibbs, Caleb Baldwin, Alex. McRay and many others. Forty-one of them were indicted for murder. All of them and many others were indicted for arson, robbery, resisting legal process and other crimes. The indictments were made by the grand jury in the circuit courts of Caldwell, Daviess and Ray. By change of venue their cases were taken to Boone County for trial. On the way there Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, McRay and Baldwin escaped by bribing the sheriff and his deputies. Pratt made his escape by breaking jail. Gibbs and the others were tried before Judge David Todd and acquitted. General Doniphan and James S. Rollins were their lawyers. Joseph Smith joined his followers in Illinois. There in 1843, it has been uniformly asserted by the Utah Mormons and often by impartial writers, he had another "revelation" authorizing and approving polygamy. This revelation was not officially published until 1852, and the Missouri Mormons have strenuously denied that he ever announced such a revelation. But publication that he had done so was at once made in Nauvoo, and it stirred up such troubles for Smith that he and his brother Hyrum were arrested and lodged in jail, and while in jail a mob put them to death in June, 1844, but not till the Prophet had fought with desperation for his life, killing one man and wounding two others. After his death, the "Council of Twelve Apostles" chose Brigham Young as his successor. The Mormons were soon driven from Illinois to Utah, where they have become numerous and powerful. In Utah polygamy was generally

tolerated, and openly practiced by Brigham Young and other leaders among them.

Some of the Mormons, however, among them Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, both of whom had attested the *Book of Mormon* as "a divine revelation and translation," withdrew from the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," as the Utah Mormons call their organization, and with others established the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," which is the name of the church of almost all Mormons who now reside in Missouri. They withdrew after Brigham Young and the other leaders became polygamists. Some of them remained in Missouri at the time the great body of Mormons went to Nauvoo. In fact, Whitmer and Cowdery had been expelled from the Mormon church and compelled to leave Far West in June, 1838, before the Mormon War began, largely because they objected to the stealing of stock and burning of houses which preceded that war. The Reorganized Church holds to the *Book of Mormon* as a divine revelation and its members are styled Mormons; but they have never practiced any of the cruelties or immoralities of the Utah Mormons. On the contrary, during their entire abode in Missouri they have been industrious, peaceable and orderly, and have steadily grown in numbers and influence.

91. The Part Taken by Governor Boggs in driving out the Mormons determined some vengeful persons among them upon his assassination. After his term as Governor expired he again took up his residence at Independence, and to that place in 1841 came Peter Rockwell, a Mormon, who hired himself as a common laborer under a different name. After he had become acquainted he easily found an opportunity for his desperate intention. Late one evening as Boggs was leaning with his back to an open window, Rockwell shot him in the head. The wound was a terrible one; three of the balls lodged in his head and neck; another passed through

and came out at the mouth. Nevertheless, he recovered. Rockwell was tried and acquitted.

Questions on Chapter V.

1. Who was the next Governor of Missouri? (84)
2. What is said of him? (84)
3. What is said of Joseph Smith and the origin of the Book of Mormon? (85)
4. When did the Mormons first come to Missouri? (86)
5. How were they received at Independence? (86)
6. What is said of Far West? (87)
7. What now became the conduct of some persons claiming to be Mormons? (87)
8. Why were they not punished? (87)
9. Describe the troubles at DeWitt. (88)
10. For what purpose did the Governor order out militia? (89)
11. Who was in command? (89)
12. Whom did they first meet? (89)
13. What of the next skirmish? (89)
14. What did the Mormons now do? (89)
15. What was done with their leaders? (90)
16. What was Smith's next revelation? (90)
17. What became of him? (90)
18. Who was his successor? (90)
19. And what became of the Mormons of Illinois? (90)
20. What is said of another sect of Mormons that remained in Missouri? (90)
21. Describe the attempt to assassinate Boggs. (91)

CHAPTER VI.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF REYNOLDS AND MARMADUKE.

92. Financial Troubles and State Banks.—At the time of the Presidential election of 1840, there was some dissatisfaction in Missouri with the Democratic party, which had been in power in the Federal Government for many years, because of the widespread financial troubles of a few years before. These had grown out of the wild speculations in lands and general recklessness in trade which had seized

upon the nation some years before, and these financial panics were the natural results of the stringency and reaction following those reckless speculations. But the Whig party saw a good opportunity to turn them to fine political advantage and was not slow to do so. A few years before, the charter of the old United States Bank, which had been in existence, with the exception of a few years, for forty years, expired. The Whigs strongly favored its re-charter, but were defeated by the Democrats under the lead of President Andrew Jackson. After the overthrow of the bank, he had the national funds deposited in State banks. In each State there was established one central bank, with branches at other commercial centers. In Missouri the principal bank was in St. Louis, with a branch at Fayette, and later on other branch banks were established at other points, such as Palmyra, Plattsburg, Lexington and Springfield. This action on the part of Jackson preceded only about a year the storm which swept over the financial world in 1837, although the death blow to the United States Bank had been given in 1832. The fate of that bank had little or nothing to do with the distress, yet they came close together and the Whig party made much out of the coincidence. But the people of Missouri had, from their organization as a State, profited by the lessons learned in the financial troubles of 1818, and had avoided in a great measure much of the speculation rife elsewhere. They had always believed in "hard money," or gold and silver, and hence never were afflicted with the "wild-cat" paper currency which proved so injurious to the prosperity of some States, except as they felt it in their outside trade. The Democratic party being then the special advocates of "hard money," the majority of them up to this time had voted with that party.

93. The State Ticket and the Result.—The Whigs undertook to win them from their old faith, and the campaign of 1840 was the most energetic of any ever had in the State

prior to the Civil War, if not up to this time. They supplemented their national ticket in Missouri by adding to it one of the most powerful stump speakers ever in the State, General John B. Clark of Howard County, as candidate for Governor. Their principal doctrines were opposition to Jackson's policy, and the liberal use of the State's and Government's money in public improvements within the State. But the Democrats were also active. They regarded President Jackson as the people's friend and the doctrines he and his followers so much emphasized as the true principles of civil government. In opposition to Clark they nominated Thomas Reynolds, also of Howard County, a man of solid worth, and in spite of the active efforts of the Whigs the Democrats again carried the State, as they had always done since the formation of parties in the State, and as they have usually done since. Thomas Reynolds was elected Governor, and Meredith M. Marmaduke of Saline, Lieutenant-Governor.

94. The Whigs.—The Whigs at this election for the first time assumed a distinct organization in Missouri. Before that, some Whigs had been very prominent in politics, and had been elected to important offices, but they were chosen often on account of their personal popularity and worth, rather than because of their politics. But for the next twelve years the party made bold and aggressive campaigns at every election, although it at no time gained control of the State Government. Among its members were many of the ablest and best men Missouri has ever had. They were also its wealthiest, which fact contributed no little to their defeat at the polls. The Whigs were often styled the "aristocrats" of Missouri by their political enemies, and this did its share in preventing the party from gaining a strong hold on the popular heart.

95. Muster Day.—Muster Day was a time of much interest to the people of Missouri up to about 1840. In 1825 the Legislature had enacted an elaborate law for organizing

the militia. By it all men over eighteen years old and under forty-five, except a few specially exempt, were enrolled as State soldiers. The purpose of the law was to prepare the State for Indian wars or any other emergency that might arise. On the first Saturday of April every year, the citizens of each township, or, if the population was sparse, of each county, came together to be organized into companies and drilled for soldiers. This was called "Muster Day." Then in May all the companies in a county came together and were organized into battalions, drilled and paraded for several days. In October drills were had by regiments and brigades. All of these occasions were looked forward to by the people with a great deal of interest and expectation. The wealthy made display of gorgeous uniforms and splendid steeds, and chivalric heroes were received with demonstration of popular favor. On Muster Day nearly all the people from the surrounding country witnessed the organization and drill of the soldiers, and as a result it became a time when debts were paid, loans made, and much trading done. No other day in all the year was so generally observed and none did so much to get the people acquainted with each other. It also did much towards cultivating a pride in the State and her institutions. Offices in the militia, though almost entirely without emolument, were as eagerly sought after as any in the State. However, there were some persons exempt from this service. They were any civil officers, preachers, teachers, millers, and students in school. Ministers were at no time required to perform any kind of military service, nor were they permitted to hold any civil office till the new Constitution was adopted in 1865. But under the military law ministers could be chaplains, and to be chosen as such was an honorable distinction.

96. Imprisonment for Debt.—The one act in Governor Reynolds' life for which he will be most remembered, and in which he most prided himself, was the repeal of all laws

which permitted imprisonment for debt. This was done by the Legislature at its session in 1842-43. Up to that time when one proved in court that another owed him a debt, however small or large, he could have him imprisoned till it was paid. The laws in those times were unduly hard on the debtor. They allowed him but few things that a sheriff could not lay hold of and sell. If he had been unfortunate and lost his property, he could retain not over a hundred dollars' worth for his family, and besides the avaricious creditor could come with an armed officer and take him away to jail, and thereby deprive his wife and children of the benefit of his toil. The worst part about such a law was that it was the cruel and avaricious man, the one without mercy or a danger of want, who oftenest made use of it. It also worked the greatest hardship on those who needed the State's protection most. This barbarous law, which was once in force in most of the early States, Governor Reynolds determined to have repealed. He wrote the act himself and by earnest and persistent endeavor pushed it through the Legislature. It was one of the shortest laws ever enacted, and simply read: "Imprisonment for debt is hereby forever abolished."

97. Thomas Reynolds.—Governor Reynolds, elected in 1840, was a man of excellent ability. He was born in Kentucky. He resided in Illinois for a few years, and was there Supreme Judge of the State. In 1828 he moved to Missouri, was successively a member of the General Assembly, Speaker of the House, Circuit Judge, and Governor. While yet holding this last office, on February 9, 1844, for the first time in his life, he asked a divine blessing at his breakfast table, then went to a room in the Executive Mansion, locked the door and shot himself. For several months he had been in poor health. It was thought this and domestic troubles had impaired his sanity. He left a note in which he said "the abuse and slander of his enemies" had rendered his life a burden to himself and prayed God to "forgive them and teach them more

charity." Lieutenant-Governor Marmaduke became the Governor and served till the twentieth of the next November, being a man of eminently respectable talents, and making a wise and safe officer.

98. The Election of 1844.—The election of 1844 has some interest beyond ordinary elections. Congress, at a previous session, had given instruction for the division of the State into Congressional districts. By the census of 1840, Missouri had, because of the great increase of her population, become entitled to five Representatives in Congress instead of two, as was the case from 1830 to 1840. Up to this time the State had never been divided into Congressional districts, nor was it now. The Legislature would not acknowledge the authority of Congress in the matter and refused to district the State. This action created some feeling in political affairs, and the Whigs, professing to believe the election of Representatives on a general ticket in this wise would be illegal, refused to nominate candidates, and let the election go by default. The Democrats, left free from the opposition of a common rival, disagreed among themselves. One faction, which wished for silver and gold money and also desired the return of Thomas H. Benton to the Senate, became known as "Hards," and nominated John C. Edwards of Cole County for Governor, and James Young of Lafayette for Lieutenant-Governor, and placed on the same ticket five candidates for Congress. The "Softs" desired a liberal issue of paper money and were opposed to the return of Benton to the Senate, his long dominant influence in the State having become distasteful to them. They did not nominate a candidate for Governor, but supported Charles H. Allen, an Independent candidate, who was also supported by the Whigs. Edwards was elected by a majority of 5,600 votes, and was inaugurated November 20, 1844. At this election John S. Phelps and Sterling Price were elected to Congress—men destined to become very prominent in State affairs for the next thirty years.

Questions on Chapter VI.

1. What caused dissatisfaction with the Democratic party? (92)
2. What had caused these troubles? (92)
3. What is said about the establishment of State banks? (92)
4. What did the Whigs claim this action caused? (92)
5. What about "wild cat" money in Missouri? (92)
6. What course did the Whigs pursue? (93)
7. What is said of John B. Clark? (93)
8. How did the Democrats regard Andrew Jackson? (93)
9. Whom did they nominate for Governor? (93)
10. Who were elected? (93)
11. What is said of the Whigs in section 94?
12. Describe the militia and Muster Day. (95)
13. What is said of positions in the militia? (95)
14. What citizens could not then hold civil office? (95)
15. For what great act is Thomas Reynolds remembered? (96)
16. What is said of such a law? (96)
17. What were the exact words of the repealing statute? (96)
18. Who became Governor in February, 1844? (97)
19. Discuss the election of 1844 and the issues? (98)
20. What two noted men were elected to Congress? (98)

CHAPTER VII.

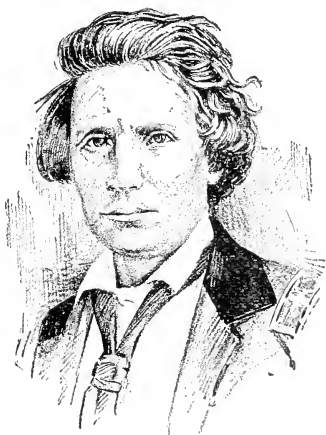
THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF GOVERNORS EDWARDS AND KING.

99. Governor Edwards.—John Cummings Edwards, the eighth Governor of Missouri, was born in Kentucky in 1806, but was reared in Rutherford County, Tennessee, and received a classical education. He was licensed to practice law in Tennessee, and came to Missouri in 1828. In 1830 he was appointed Secretary of State by Governor Miller, and held the office till 1837, and then was a member of the Legislature for one term, in the meantime giving special attention to his farm, of which he was very fond. In 1840 he was elected to Congress, and in 1844 he became Governor and served till the 27th of December, 1848. The following May he left Missouri for California, where he died in 1888.

100. **Texas.**—The annexation of Texas and the acquirement of New Mexico are a part of the history of Missouri. The United States once had a shadowy title to Texas. In 1819 it was traded to Spain for the Floridas. The policy of the nation, it mattered not which party was in power, was from that time on to regain it. But from the time Spain acquired it there had been a constant stream of emigrants thither from Missouri. Hence the people of this State were closely connected with those of Texas by ties of blood. "It is probably within the bounds to assert that between 1822 and 1836 there were few prominent Missouri families that were not at some time represented in the life of Texas." A Missourian named Austin made a settlement there and gave his name to its present capital. In 1835 Texas won her independence from Mexico in a predatory war known as the Texas Rebellion, and was largely assisted by Missourians who could not ignore her cry for help, although all the assistance given was by private citizens, who gave their aid on their own responsibility and not from any authority or consent of the State or Union. But soon after winning her independence Texas desired to become a State. This was at first stoutly opposed, but in 1844 her admission to the Union was made the principal issue in the Presidential campaign. Missouri's interest in the matter was yet strong. She was in favor of the admission of Texas, and so cast her vote against Henry Clay, the most popular candidate the opposition could bring forward, and always a favorite in Missouri. The nation as well declared for her admission, and the matter having been settled by the popular voice, Texas was admitted into the Union in 1845. Mexico had prior thereto warned the United States that such admission would cause her to declare war. Accordingly on April 24, 1846, the Mexican commander on the Texas border notified General Zachary Taylor that he considered hostilities to have begun, and a few days afterwards Congress declared "war existed by the act of Mexico."

101. Doniphan's Expedition.—Many Missourians took part in the Mexican War. A few hundred of them joined the regular army under Taylor and Scott and shared in the honor of capturing the city of Mexico. But so far as the United States was concerned, this was by no means as important as the subjugation and acquirement of New Mexico, which was done almost entirely by Missouri volunteers. In the middle of May, 1846, Governor Edwards called for volunteers to join the "Army of the West." Thirteen hundred and fifty-eight men assembled at Fort Leavenworth from the counties of Jackson, Lafayette, Saline, Clay, Franklin, Cole, Howard and Callaway. A. W. Doniphan of Clay was elected colonel, and because of his prudent wisdom and energy in the campaign, it has usually been called "Doniphan's Expedition." They were joined at Leavenworth by 300 regulars from the United States Army, with 16 pieces of artillery, and the whole force was placed under the command of General Kearney, also a citizen of Missouri. In June they set out over the plains for Santa Fe, 900 miles distant, and reached it in less than fifty days, having traveled through an uninhabited country and suffered much for water, yet with little loss in men or animals.

102. Capture of Santa Fe.—Upon their approach the Mexican governor abandoned the place, and so the Americans took possession "without firing a gun or shedding a drop of blood." Santa Fe was then the center of the overland trade with Missouri and the distributing point for all trade with northern Mexico. It was the political



Alexander A. Doniphan.

capital of New Mexico and of a great part of the country north of the Rio Grande, the part which hitherto had resisted all attempts at conquest by Texas. The next day after its capture, General Kearney issued a proclamation by which he absolved the people of this wide territory from all allegiance to Mexican authority, and by "one stroke of the pen transformed them into citizens of the United States." With characteristic energy and aggressiveness, General Kearney caused a constitution and code of laws to be prepared by Doniphan and Willard P. Hall, both Missouri lawyers, which changed New Mexico in name from a province of Mexico into a Territory of the United States. He appointed Charles Bent Governor and Francis P. Blair Attorney-General. He then set out for the Pacific coast to bring California under like subjugation, leaving Colonel Doniphan in command. The day after his departure Colonel Sterling Price arrived at Santa Fe. Price had resigned his seat in Congress and taken the lead of a large force of men and marched to join the Army of the West, one company having been collected from each of the counties of Boone, Benton, Carroll, Chariton, Linn, Livingston, Monroe, Randolph, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis.

103. Battle of Bracito.—Leaving Price in charge of the troops at Santa Fe, and having in a short time put down a considerable uprising of the Navajo (pron. Nav-a-ho) Indians, who had long been in hostilities with the people of New Mexico, Doniphan started to Chihuahua (She-waw-waw), 900 miles distant, to join General Wool. A sandy desert ninety miles wide, without wood or water, had to be crossed. In three days this was done and the army had running water. They arrived on Christmas day at a little place called Bracito (Bra-se-to). Here they halted and began to collect feed for their horses and water and fuel. Suddenly a superior force of Mexicans darted upon them in full fire. The Missourians quickly formed on foot, held their fire till the Mexicans came within easy range of their guns and after a

half hour's fighting drove them from the field, "leaving 63 dead and 150 wounded."

104. Capture of Chihuahua.—Two days later Doniphan reached El Paso and learned Wool had not taken Chihuahua nor moved toward it. After waiting till the eighth of February for the arrival of some artillery from Santa Fe under Captain Weightman, also a Missourian, he set out again. In three weeks he was within fifteen miles of Chihuahua, 225 miles from El Paso, with 924 effective men and a caravan of 300 traders' wagons which had followed him all the way for protection and trade with the Mexicans. Here Doniphan learned "the enemy was strongly posted on high ground, fortified by intrenchments and well supplied with artillery," consisting of "about 4,000 men, of whom 1,500 were rancheros badly armed with lassos, lances and corn knives." Despite their superior numbers he determined to attack them. He advanced with seven dismounted companies and three mounted. A charge of these with the aid of two twelve-pound cannon decided the battle. The Mexicans fled. Three hundred of them were killed, three hundred wounded and forty taken prisoners. The Missourians' loss was one killed and eleven wounded. The Missourians now started for the mouth of the Rio Grande, which they reached the ninth of June, 1847, and the next day embarked for New Orleans and for home.

105. A Pleasing Incident.—After leaving Chihuahua only one incident need be mentioned. The Mexican people of Parras had shown great kindness to the sick of Wool's army. After he left they had been plundered and threatened by a marauding band of Indians. Although Mexicans, they appealed to Doniphan for help, who detached Captain Reid and thirty-five men for the purpose. They severely punished the Indians and recaptured and returned to their parents eighteen Mexican boys and girls. This shows how willing these Missouri boys were to do an act of humanity to even an enemy in distress.

106. Results of the Expedition.—This was the end of “Doniphan’s Expedition.” He had traveled 3,000 miles from Fort Leavenworth to the mouth of the Rio Grande in twelve months, with a loss all told of less than fifty men, and had prepared the way for the acquirement by the United States of New Mexico and much of Arizona and California, a tract all told much larger than Missouri.

107. Price Around Santa Fe.—We must return to Santa Fe to note what had been going on there. There was a “deadly hostility” toward the Americans; an intrigue was formed, and in an uprising of Mexicans on the nineteenth of January, 1847, Governor Bent had been killed while on a visit to his family at Taos, seventy miles from Santa Fe. Colonel Price set out at once with 350 men and met the Mexicans at Canada, New Mexico. After a short skirmish the Mexicans were driven from their position. They left behind thirty-six dead on the field. Price’s loss was two killed and seven wounded. Price followed on. He was joined by Captain Burgwin with one company, which swelled his number to four hundred and eighty. The enemy had taken refuge in a pueblo near San Fernando de Taos. This place was inclosed with strong walls and pickets. In it were two pyramid-shaped buildings seven or eight stories high, and built of sun-dried brick. Their walls were thick and pierced for rifles. Here the Mexicans successfully defended themselves for two days. Price’s cannon could not make a breach in the stubborn walls of these buildings. He, therefore, ordered that they be stormed on all sides at once. The soldiers cut their way through the walls with axes, and then brought up their six-pound cannon, by which the “holes were widened into a practicable breach.” The buildings were carried without further resistance and the siege was ended, with 150 Mexicans killed out of six or seven hundred, and seven of the Missourians killed and forty-five wounded, many of whom died. Fifteen of the prisoners were hanged for treason.

108. New Mexico Won.—Thus ended the revolt. But it began again in a few months. It had all the time been carried on by small bands of marauders, red and white, who robbed passing trading wagons. Soon came the report that a large hostile force was approaching from the south. Price called for additional troops. He was soon at the head of 3,000, nearly all of whom were from Missouri. With this number he found no difficulty in maintaining order and the position he had won. The people of New Mexico in a short time submitted to the situation, and the treaty of 1848 ending the Mexican War gave sanction to what had been done by Kearney, Doniphan, and Price, and acknowledged that New Mexico had for some time been territory of the United States.

109. Austin A. King.—In 1848 Austin A. King, of Ray County, was put forward by the Democrats for Governor, and James S. Rollins, of Boone, by the Whigs. The Democrats had steadily gained in numbers during the past four years, and although Rollins was one of the most popular and gifted men in the State, King was elected by 15,000 majority out of a total vote of 83,000. Thomas L. Price, a Benton Democrat of Cole County, was elected Lieutenant-Governor. King was born in Tennessee in 1801, a son of an old Revolutionary family. He received a good education, became a learned lawyer, and came to Missouri, first settling in Boone County, and served one term in the Legislature from there. In 1837 he moved to Ray County and was appointed circuit judge, and served in that capacity till elected Governor. He was elected to Congress in 1862, and died in 1870.

110. Fire in St. Louis.—A destructive fire occurred in May, 1849, among the boats at St. Louis. The steamer *White Cloud* took fire. Twenty-three other boats were soon in flames. The line of conflagration was a mile long. The fire spread to the city and whole blocks were burnt. All the buildings on Front Street, from Locust to Market, were

swept away. Three million dollars was the value of the property destroyed.

111. The Iowa Line.—In 1849 the Supreme Court of the United States settled the long and sore dispute between Iowa and Missouri as to which owned a strip of land twenty miles wide lying between the undisputed territory of each. The Missouri Constitution, which had been accepted by Congress in 1821, said that the northern boundry line should be the “parallel that passes through the rapids of the river Des Moines, making the said line correspond with the Indian boundary line.” Missouri claimed the northern border should be a parallel of latitude which passed through the rapids of the river Des Moines, and Iowa claimed it should be a parallel which passed through the Des Moines rapids in the Mississippi twenty miles further south. From 1837 the inhabitants of this strip had voted at Missouri elections. But in 1845 a Missouri sheriff, acting under the order of a Missouri court, had arrested some criminals on this strip, and was himself arrested and convicted by an Iowa Territorial court on the ground that he was exercising authority on Iowa territory. The contention at once took a serious face, and was made the subject of many fiery speeches in the campaigns for several years. Unfriendly and revengeful feelings began to grow between the people of Missouri and Iowa. The matter was quietly and peaceably settled, however, by the United States Supreme Court, and thus the importance of having such a body to settle disputes between the States was shown.

112. The Settlement.—The Indian border line was adopted as the proper dividing line between the two States. It ran almost in the middle of the twenty-mile strip. It had been established in 1816, by John Sullivan, as the northern boundary of Missouri. Sullivan was a United States surveyor, appointed for the purpose of establishing this line. The mistake made in running it was one cause of the trouble, and that mistake has never been corrected and still remains.

He began on a meridian one hundred miles north of Kansas City, and, instead of running due east, varied to the north, and at the river Des Moines had varied four miles in that direction. But the United States had by no less than sixteen treaties with the Indians recognized the line he ran as the border of Missouri. Missouri had so regarded it up to 1837, and the court now held that it should forever be the dividing line between the two States. By this decision Missouri lost a strip of land ten miles wide on the east and fourteen on the west; and Iowa lost the rest of the twenty-mile strip. This will explain why the border line between Missouri and Iowa does not run due east and west.

Questions on Chapter VII.

1. Give a sketch of the life of John C. Edwards. (99)
2. How did the United States acquire the Floridas? (100)
3. What part did Missourians take in settling Texas? (100)
4. What is said of the Texas Rebellion? (100)
5. And the efforts to make Texas a State? (100)
6. How did the war begin? (100)
7. What part did Missourians take in the Mexican War? (100)
8. Describe Doniphan's expedition. (101)
9. Describe the capture of Santa Fe. (102)
10. What else did Kearney do? (102)
11. Who now came on the scene? (102)
12. What did Doniphan do? (103)
13. Describe the battle of Bracito. (103)
14. Describe the capture of Chihuahua. (104)
15. What pleasing incident is mentioned? (105)
16. What were some of the results of the expedition? (106)
17. What had been going on at Santa Fe? (107)
18. Describe the capture of San Fernando de Taos. (107)
19. How was New Mexico finally won? (108)
20. What is said of Austin A. King? (109)
21. What destructive fire is mentioned? (110)
22. What is said of the contentions over the Iowa line? (111)
23. How was the issue settled? (111)
24. What line was fixed upon? (112)
25. What did Missouri gain and lose by this decision? (112)

CHAPTER VIII.

BENTON AND THE JACKSON RESOLUTIONS.

113. Contentions Over Slavery.—The slavery question again stirred the State. It grew out of the acquisition, by the nation, of California and New Mexico. All of the last and part of the first lay south of parallel thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, agreed upon by Congress in the Missouri Compromise of 1820, as the line north of which slavery was not to exist. But African slavery had never existed in New Mexico. When, therefore, it became territory of the United States the North contended that slavery must not be introduced there. It was the desire of the South that it should. A large portion of the people of Missouri held that the proper way to settle the matter was for Congress not to interfere at all, but let the inhabitants of the Territory determine for themselves whether or not slavery should exist there. By way of giving expression to this view a series of propositions known as the "Jackson Resolutions" were passed by the Legislature in January, 1849. They were so called because Claiborne F. Jackson of Howard County, afterwards Governor of the State, was chairman of the committee which reported them to the Senate, though as originally introduced they were written by Judge William B. Napton, a member of the Supreme Court from the county of Saline. After they reached the Senate committee they were recast by George W. Hough, a citizen of Jefferson City, "distinguished for soundness of judgment, accuracy of information and the strength of his convictions," and as written by him were accepted by the committee and adopted by both houses of the General Assembly.

114. The Jackson Resolutions.—The Jackson Resolutions were passed by a vote of about twenty-four to seven

in the Senate and sixty to twenty-two in the House, the Democrats generally voting for them and the Whigs against. The resolutions were six in number. Only the salient points of three or four of them need be here given. The first contended that the Constitution gave Congress no power to legislate on the subject of slavery; the fourth, that the right to prohibit slavery in any territory belongs exclusively to the people thereof; the fifth, that if Congress passed any act in conflict with these principles, Missouri will co-operate with "the slave-holding States for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism." The sixth instructed Messrs. Benton and Atchison, Missouri's United States Senators, to act in conformity with these resolutions. Atchison did so, but Benton refused, and appealed to the people for indorsement. He claimed slavery was an "incurable evil" and therefore it ought not to be extended.

115. The Opposite View.—The claim was admitted by many of the men who voted for the resolutions, but they yet held that the people of New Mexico and California ought to determine for themselves whether slavery should exist in their midst; that it was not a question whether slavery was right or wrong, but of non-interference by Congress. They said the people of the slave-holding States had a right, under the Constitution, which guaranteed freedom of commerce among the States, to go into any of the Territories they had helped to acquire, taking their slaves with them if they so desired, upon the same footing as that upon which the people of the North were permitted to move into the same Territory without slaves. It was by no means certain that all the Territories would desire to become slave States. Some would not. Mr. Benton had always been quietly opposed to slavery, but he could have accepted this view of non-interference without surrendering his convictions in regard to it. It was afterwards, in 1857, accepted by the Supreme Court of the United States as a reasonable view of the rights of a State under the Constitution.

116. Benton's Position.—But Mr. Benton was not a man of compromises. He welcomed a fight, and gloried in the prospect of overcoming his enemies. He was possessed with superb courage, physical and moral, and an imperious



Thomas H. Benton.

will. He ignored and brushed aside the views of the supporters of the Jackson Resolutions. He had no conciliation to make. He had always been ardently devoted to the Union. In this ardor and his own imperious domination, he mistook the views and purposes of those of his own party who differed with him. They were as much devoted to the Union as he was. He had been a devoted follower of Andrew Jackson, and gave great support to that man of iron in his endeavors to humiliate, break

down, and punish John C. Calhoun, against whom Jackson had a deep personal grievance. Benton could see nothing in the Jackson Resolutions but a reiteration of Calhoun's nullification doctrines. He thought they meant disunion and secession. Perhaps he was honest in this view. His ardor for the Union and his dislike for Calhoun and his resentment of opposition to himself (which was in fact largely due to his egotism and his overbearing course) perhaps led him to enlarge their import and grounded him in his belief. Yet the friends of the Resolutions did not so regard them. Many of those who strongly supported them were a few years later loyal supporters of the Union cause. Benton had given the Resolutions a meaning which few or none of those voting for them believed was the proper inference. He appealed to the people to stand to his interpretation. He made a tremen-

dous struggle to be sustained, and spoke with incisive invective against his opponents in every part of the State. Strong men of the Democratic party opposed him. The Whigs took no part in the contest.

117. Benton's Downfall.—When the General Assembly met Benton was defeated, the opposing Democrats voting with the Whigs and thus electing Henry S. Geyer of St. Louis to the United States Senate. Mr. Benton had been the political leader and autocrat of the State for thirty years. But from this time on his power was broken. He represented St. Louis one term in Congress, from 1853-55, but was then defeated by Luther M. Kennett, a Know Nothing. In 1856 he was a feeble candidate for Governor on his own personal strength as an independent, but was defeated. Had he not tried to make the Jackson Resolutions mean something which the great body of the people did not intend them to mean, he might have held his seat in the Senate till his death. After his defeat the Democratic party committed itself to non-interference by Congress in questions of slavery in new Territories, and there was political peace for a few years till the breaking out of fresh trouble in Kansas.

Questions on Chapter VIII.

1. What troublesome question again arose when California and New Mexico had been acquired? (113)
2. What was the attitude of the North? (113)
3. What was Missouri's contention? (113)
4. In what way did they give expression to their views? (113)
5. Name the salient points of the Jackson Resolutions. (114)
6. How did Benton and Atchison regard them? (114)
7. What argument was made for the Resolutions? (115)
8. What was Benton's attitude? (116)
9. What is said of the struggle? (116)
10. What was the result? (117)
11. What attitude did the Democratic party now assume? (117)

CHAPTER IX.

FROM 1852 TO 1860.

118. The Election.—At the election of 1852 Sterling Price, of Chariton County, was put forward by the Democratic party for Governor. The Whigs nominated James Winston, of Benton County, who was a grandson of the great Patrick Henry, and a man of many marked characteristics. Price was elected by a majority of nearly 14,000 votes. Wilson Brown, of Cape Girardeau, was elected Lieutenant-Governor. The new Governor was inaugurated the first Tuesday in January, 1853, and the Legislature for many weeks was stirred by animated discussions of the famous Jackson Resolutions which had been passed at a previous session.

119. Sterling Price.—Sterling Price was born in Virginia in 1809, educated at Hampden-Sidney College, and came to Missouri with his father in 1831, first settling at Fayette, and two years later at Keytesville, in Chariton County, where he engaged in merchandising for two years, and then settled on a large farm eight miles south of that town and engaged in farming till 1861. In 1840 he was elected to the Legislature and was chosen Speaker, and in 1842 was re-elected to both positions. In 1844 he was elected to Congress. When the Mexican War broke out he resigned and was commissioned by President Polk to raise and command a regiment, and before the war closed rose to the rank of Brigadier-General. In 1852 he was elected Governor as a Democrat, and made the State a faithful and wise chief magistrate. During his term he urged the Legislature to pass a law increasing the salary of the Governor, for the benefit of his successor. The Legislature provided for the increase to begin at once; but as the Constitution said the Governor's salary should not be increased or decreased while



General Sterling Price.

he was in office, he refused to accept the increase. In 1860 he was elected to the convention which declared Missouri would not secede from the Union, and was made its chairman. After the capture of Camp Jackson by Lyon's troops, he accepted from Governor Jackson the appointment of Major-General of the State troops, and in May, 1862, joined the Confederacy and fought for it till it was vanquished. The brilliant qualities which he exhibited in so many ways during

the war so endeared him to the people of the South that, with the exception of Lee and Jackson, no man among all their cherished heroes is remembered with more ardent and sincere affection. After the war he returned to St. Louis and engaged in the business of a commission merchant, and died there in 1867.

120. Internal Improvements.—In the meantime the State had, for the first time since its organization, committed itself to a liberal policy of internal improvements. As early as 1836 charters had been granted to private companies to construct better wagon roads. Commercial centers had sprung up far from the navigable rivers. Freightling to them had been done almost exclusively by ox-wagons. Plank or macadam roads were now constructed. They were toll roads, for the most part. They gradually called into use wagons and other vehicles drawn by horses. No State aid had been given to any of these improvements. But in 1849 the General Assembly—the same one which passed the Jackson Resolutions—found the State out of debt and her revenue

largely increasing, and a popular demand for State aid to railroads. In February the construction of the Missouri Pacific Railway from St. Louis to the western border of the State was authorized. The survey was soon made, and construction began in July, 1850. Other railroads were then rapidly projected.

121. The Doors Open.—The doors of the public treasury had been opened to the Missouri Pacific. Other roads claimed an equal right to favoritism. There was no stopping place now. In quick succession aid was given to the St. Louis & San Francisco (the "Frisco"), the Iron Mountain, the Wabash, the Hannibal & St. Joseph, and other railroads. In eight years these roads received from the State its bonds to the amount of twenty-three million dollars, which they were allowed to sell for cash, but the interest of which the roads agreed to pay. In this most of them failed, and hence the State had to pay the interest, and later the bonds themselves. This was the foundation of the great debt the State had to pay in after years. Besides this immense aid given by the State, the United States Government gave these roads about 1,800,000 acres of land.

122. Railroad Construction.—The entire length of all railroads in the United States in 1850 was about 9000 miles. Missouri alone now has almost that amount of mileage. No one can calculate the effect of these railroads in developing the resources of the State, in changing the pursuits of the people, in multiplying their powers for producing things, in drawing them closer to the rest of the country and to the whole world, and in unifying them into a homogeneous whole. The first railroad of any considerable extent in the State was the Missouri Pacific. It was completed between St. Louis and Jefferson City by November 1, 1855. Eighty-five miles of the Iron Mountain had been built from St. Louis to Pilot Knob by 1858. In the same year the Hannibal & St. Joseph was completed between the two cities for which it

was named. The Frisco was constructed from St. Louis as far as Rolla by 1861. The Wabash reached Warrenton by 1855, Mexico in 1858, and in the next ten years was extended to Kansas City. These were the first railroads built, but within the next twenty years the Missouri, Kansas and Texas, the Chicago and Alton, and later other great lines were built, and the building of branches or extensions to these main lines and of other trunk roads still goes on.

123. Some Interesting Matters.—Friction matches, such as are now used in every household, did not come into use until about 1845. Prior to that time the people “covered” the fire in their stoves or fireplaces, and if it failed to “keep” they went to their neighbors to “borrow some fire,” or started it anew by striking a small flint rock against a piece of steel and permitting the spark to communicate to punk, which was a fungus growth of easily inflammable tinder gathered from certain trees and kept dry for the purpose.

Tomatoes began to be generally used as food about 1855. A very few persons had eaten them prior to that, but by most persons they were regarded as ornaments and called “love apples,” and were not considered fit to eat.

Steel pens, such as are now in general use, began to be used about 1847. Prior to that goose quills or gold pens were used. A few sewing machines found their way into the State about the same time.

124. The Election of Polk.—At the election in 1856 the Democratic candidate for Governor was Trusten Polk of St. Louis. Robert C. Ewing was the American or Know Nothing candidate and Thomas H. Benton was an independent candidate. Polk was elected. He received 47,000 votes, Ewing 40,500, and Benton 27,600. The election of United States Senator enlisted more than ordinary interest. Two years before the Legislature had balloted for days, trying to elect a successor to David R. Atchison. It had failed to do so and for two years Missouri had only one Senator, Henry



Trusten Polk.

S. Geyer. But in 1857 James S. Green was elected to serve till 1861, and Trusten Polk to serve till 1863. Polk within a few months resigned as Governor, and Hancock Jackson, the Lieutenant-Governor, served till the special election in August, when Robert M. Stewart was chosen over James S. Rollins.

125. Trusten Polk.—

Trusten Polk was born in Delaware in 1811, graduated at Yale College in 1831, and came to Missouri in 1835, settling in St. Louis, where he took the highest rank as a lawyer and citizen. He was a man of the cleanest habits, of great candor and sincerity. In 1843 he was City Counselor of St. Louis and in 1856 was elected Governor, and within a few months to the United States Senate. He made a useful Senator, being very attentive to the interests of his constituents. Early in the war he was expelled from the Senate by the Republican members on a charge of disloyalty. His public services after that were given to his church and to upbuilding the educational interests of the State. He died in St. Louis in 1876.

126. Robert Stewart.—Robert Morris Stewart was born in New York in 1815, and received a good education. He taught school when he was seventeen and until he was twenty, moved to Kentucky, studied law, was admitted to the bar at Louisville, came to Missouri in 1839, in a few years settled in St. Joseph and practiced law. From 1846 to 1857 he was a member of the State Senate. In 1857, when Governor Polk resigned, he was elected as a Democrat and made an excellent officer. When the question of secession was sub-

mitted to the people, he was elected a delegate to the convention which was to finally decide the matter, as a Conditional Union man, but soon ardently and unconditionally supported the Union, but not as an Abolitionist, for he was always opposed to abolition, but as an opponent to secession and a steadfast adherent to the Union his fathers had helped to establish. His decided stand against secession, when so much seemed to depend on the action of Missouri, helped to save the State to the Union, and made his action one of national consideration. He was never married, was a man of free-and-easy habits, and died in 1871.

127. Kansas Troubles.—Sectional contention would not cease. In 1854 it arose afresh when a bill passed Congress organizing Kansas into a Territory. The Missouri Compromise had been repealed by that bill. Senator Atchison of Missouri was the leader in Congress who brought about its repeal. The Compromise was the first effort made by Congress to interfere with the local institutions or affairs of a State. It can not be wondered at, then, that all of Missouri's representatives in Congress were in favor of its repeal. But other States saw the injustice of the discrimination made by that compromise against a part of the Union. The bill for the repeal passed overwhelmingly, and declared in favor of letting the inhabitants of any new Territory determine for themselves whether or not they wished slavery therein. By this privilege the people of Kansas could decide for themselves in favor of slavery or against it. This was the same doctrine as the fourth of the Jackson Resolutions. (See Section 114.)

128. A Contest Between North and South.—Both North and South wished to be triumphant in Kansas. The struggle is important as a part of the history of each, and especially of Missouri, because it was the last peaceful contest for political supremacy by each before final appeal to arms, and on the part of the South Missouri was the chief rep-

representative, while Massachusetts was the most aggressive actor among the Northern States. To gain a majority of the people of Kansas to declare against slavery, Emigration Aid Companies were organized in Massachusetts and throughout the North, which sent out men to Kansas to be ready to vote. These companies practically sent out men only. As many as 223 men to five women were in one company. A United States marshal who searched this company found no agricultural implements, but many guns and revolvers and much ammunition. All the companies were not as this one, but there were few actual settlers. By such a course it became evident that Kansas would become a free State.

129. Blue Lodges.—Counter aid societies were formed in Missouri. They were known as Blue Lodges. Their objects were the same as those of the Emigrant Aid Companies. Neither were right. But the Missourians thought themselves far less to blame for aiding in the formation of a new State adjoining their border and so far inhabited, in the main, by their own kinsmen, than were people of a State a thousand miles away. Besides, the Blue Lodges were formed as a result of, and as a counter-balance to, the Emigrant Aid Companies. Just how many pretended settlers were sent out by either of these societies will never be known. Much illegal voting was done on both sides in the ensuing years, and a terrible guerrilla warfare was the result.

130. Fraudulent Voting.—An election of the members of the Kansas Territorial Legislature which Congress had provided for was held in March, 1855. The pro-slavery party, or the "Missourians," as it was called, was successful. In February previous a census showed an entire population of 8,601, and 2,905 voters, of whom a large majority were from slave States. There were 6,307 votes cast. The Eastern immigrants charged that 5,000 Missourians had crossed over into Kansas Territory and voted. The pro-slavery men charged that a company of Northern immigrants had arrived

at Lawrence on the day of the election and voted notwithstanding such a short stay. Undoubtedly there was much illegal voting on both sides, and the evidence seems to be strong, though not conclusive, that the Missourians were the more numerous if not the chief sinners.

131. General Lawlessness.—The anti-slavery men refused to acknowledge the authority of this Territorial Legislature. They disregarded its laws whenever they chose and resisted arrest whenever they were brought to account for so doing. Then began the active trouble. The grand jury made some indictments, and the sheriff attempted to arrest the offenders. They resisted, and the anti-slavery leaders, by speeches, through their papers and in many ways, urged them to do so. The sheriff ordered bystanders to assist him in making the arrests. The offenders would then be joined by anti-slavery sympathizers. These contending factions soon learned to rob each other, burn each other's houses and destroy other property. From these differences in Kansas sprang many kinds of lawless and political crimes, and finally a civil war between the rival factions which did not end till the final establishment of the anti-slavery party in 1859.

132. John Brown.—During these disturbances John Brown inaugurated a system of murder for opinion's sake, and in the dead of night put to death five peaceable settlers whom he had never before seen, whose only crime was that they differed with him in regard to slavery. For this crime he went unpunished. Such a course soon brought into activity a set of robbers and marauders who were described as "Jayhawkers." The counties in Missouri adjoining Kansas now began to suffer. They had much more property to lose than those of Kansas because they were older settlements. These marauders were not slow to learn this fact. They cared as little for Missouri law as for Kansas authority. They came into these counties and took whatever they could. One of these raids was headed by John Brown, and was made

in December, 1858. He took away eleven slaves. A slave owner was also killed whose only offense seems to have been an objection to the way in which he was dispossessed of his property. This raid was made soon after the Governors of the two States had attempted to bring about a reconciliation. There were other raids also, in which "peaceable and law-abiding citizens" were subjected to outrages, insults and lawless violence. The General Assembly of Missouri appropriated thirty thousand dollars to be used by Governor Stewart as he thought best. Three thousand dollars were offered as a reward for John Brown. He nevertheless succeeded in conducting the negroes into Canada and then sold his stolen horses in Ohio. All his raids in Missouri were marked by blood. Yet he was received in many parts of the North, not as a monomaniac or a fugitive from justice, but as a popular hero. But the efforts put forth by the Legislature, the Governors of Missouri and Kansas, and the officers of the United States Army, partially quieted the troubles, and the guerrilla warfare ceased for two years.

133. Montgomery's Raid.—But in 1860 it began again. This time the Jayhawkers were led by the desperate James Montgomery. They broke up a United States court and compelled the judge and its officers to flee for their lives. They also killed a citizen of Missouri named Samuel Hindes. Their charge against him was that he was in search of runaway slaves. Congress had some time before this passed the Fugitive Slave Law, by which any slave owner was permitted to pursue a fugitive slave into a free State, recover him and return to his home. It was while Hindes was in search of a fugitive slave in Kansas that Montgomery established himself at Fort Scott, a town just over the Missouri border, whence he declared he intended to "clean out southern Missouri of its slaves."

134. Excitement.—The people of Missouri became very much excited at these threats. Exaggerated reports

were brought to Governor Stewart that Montgomery had begun to lay waste the country and that "citizens of Missouri on the Osage and in Bates and Vernon are flying from their homes into the interior." Brigadier-General D. M. Frost was ordered to proceed to the border with enough men to end the difficulty. He reached it in November, 1860, with 650 troops, but found General Harney of the United States Army had preceded him. Montgomery, at the advance of these forces, disbanded his Jayhawkers and fled. Frost in his report to Governor Stewart said Hindes's "only crime was that he had been faithful to the laws of his State." He also says the "deserted and charred remains of once happy homes" were general.

135. Jayhawking now ceased as such, but it did not actually cease. It did not cease during the first two or three years of the Civil War, nor indeed so long as there was left anything along the Missouri border for the Jayhawkers to steal or anybody to rob. But they then came with United States commissions in their pockets under "which guise they carried on a system of robbery and murder which left a good portion of the frontier of southwest Missouri an entire waste."

136. General Progress.—The progress in wealth and population from 1850 to 1860 was enormous, notwithstanding the predatory disturbances on the Kansas border. The population had increased from 682,000 to 1,182,000, a net increase of a half million, and an increase in percentage of seventy-three for the ten years. Of this number 115,000 were slaves. Their increase had been 27,000, or thirty per cent. Of all the population 160,000, or one-seventh, were foreign-born in 1860. Of these 88,000 were Germans, and 43,000 were Irish. The revolutions in Germany in 1849 had caused many of its inhabitants to seek safety in Missouri. This explains the large immigration of Germans during this decade. The failure of the potato crop in Ireland in 1846-47

will also explain the large immigration from that country. These new immigrants turned their attention mostly to farming, especially the Germans, and became useful and prosperous citizens. Missouri had risen in these ten years from the rank of thirteenth to eighth in the number of her population and was now the first of the Southern States.

137. Missouri's Financial Prosperity was not behind the increase in population. The assessed value of her property had risen from one hundred and thirty-seven million dollars in 1850 to five hundred and one million in 1860, an increase of 265 per cent. The property consisted mostly in farms and agricultural wealth. The manufactured products were estimated at forty million dollars in 1860 and the capital invested in factories was twenty millions. But much wealth was made known during this decade. By a system of surveys it became known that one-fifth of the State is underlaid with workable beds of coal; that there are "more than a thousand valuable veins of lead and half as many of iron, besides many of zinc, hydraulic lime-stone and other minerals. The new immigrants had also shown that much of the country south of the Osage River, heretofore regarded as worthless, was very valuable for grapes and other fruits."

Questions on Chapter IX.

1. Who was elected Governor in 1852? (118)
2. To what party did he belong? (118)
3. Who was the Whig candidate? (118)
4. From what great orator was he descended? (118)
5. Give a sketch of the life of Sterling Price. (119)
6. What is said of internal improvements? (120)
7. What railroads were aided by the state? (121)
8. How did the state aid them? (121)
9. In what did the state's debt of after years originate? (121)
10. Tell about the construction of railroads. (122)
11. What is said of matches, pens and tomatoes? (123)
12. Can you mention some other useful things that have since come into general use?
13. Who were the candidates for governor in 1856? (124)

- 14 Who was elected? (124)
- 15 Why was a special election necessary? (124)
- 16 Who was elected? (124)
- 17 Who was acting Governor in the interim? (124)
- 18 Give a sketch of the life of Trusten Polk. (125)
- 19 Give a sketch of the life of Robert M. Stewart. (126)
- 20 What was the occasion of new sectional trouble? (127)
- 21 What was necessary before Kansas could decide to have slavery?
(127) Why? (58, 113)
- 22 Between what was the contest in Kansas? (128)
- 23 Describe the Emigration Societies. (128)
- 24 What counter aid societies were formed in Missouri? (129)
- 25 What have you to say of these organizations? (129)
- 26 What was the result in Kansas? (129)
- 27 What about the Kansas election in 1855? (130)
- 28 Give some incidents of the general lawlessness that followed
these fraudulent votings. (131)
- 29 What is said of John Brown? (132)
- 30 What other raids were there? (132)
- 31 What action did Missouri take to stop them? (132)
- 32 What was the result at pacification? (132)
- 33 What is said of Montgomery's raid? (133)
- 34 What report reached the Governor? (134)
- 35 What did Frost report that he found? (134)
- 36 What is said of Missouri's progress from 1850 to 1860? (136)
- 37 How about her financial progress? (137)

CHAPTER X.

THE ELECTION OF 1860.

138. The Situation.—The troubles in Kansas and the debates in Congress on the subject of slavery had given force to the formation of a new party wholly devoted to opposing the extension of slavery. It in time took the name of Republican. In 1856 its candidate for the Presidency was John C. Fremont, a son-in-law of Thos. H. Benton. He received 114 of the 296 electoral votes, and hence the new party had great hopes of success as the campaign of 1860 approached. Public

feeling became deeply disturbed. The whole country was aflame with sectional animosities. The agitation for abolition had stirred the people as nothing else had ever done. A large class of people in the North were determined to destroy slavery at any cost. Many people in the South felt that the only way to preserve their own peace and property was to quietly withdraw from the Union. Others believed it wisdom to remain in the Union and there settle their troubles. It seems strange now that any civilized people who had established and for seventy years lived under a republic of popular sovereignty, could have wished to perpetuate slavery. But there were mitigating circumstances. Slavery had originally existed in all the Colonies. When it became unprofitable in the North the slaves were sold into the South where it was profitable. Many of the now slave-owners had inherited it from their fathers and not sought it. Slaves were valuable property. Men have, in every civilized country, been slow to give up valuable property without resistance. Besides, it was difficult to know what to do with the slaves if they were freed. That was a hard problem. Thousands of men in the South, many of them slave-owners, who at heart were opposed to slavery, thought emancipation meant confusion and social disorders. Many persons feared the consequences if millions of ignorant people should be turned loose, penniless, among their old owners. Beyond this, it can be said in all truthfulness that slavery had been a benefit to the slaves themselves. They had been taken from savage and barbarous races in Africa, and the discipline of slavery in America had taught them many of the habits of civilization. They had learned how to work, which always exalts a people; had learned the arts of peace and frugal honesty. But this discipline, this improvement, made it less dangerous to trust them with freedom. It had prepared them more and more for its useful enjoyment when it should come. Besides, the principle of universal freedom had more and more become a part of

American life, and one strong reason for the extinction of slavery was the desire of the slaves themselves to be free.

139. The Fugitive Slave Law and Nullification.—

The Fugitive Slave Law did much to intensify the contentions and troubles between the North and South. It had been passed by Congress a few years before and gave to each slave-owner the right to pursue a runaway slave into any State and retake him without any verdict from a court declaring who was the rightful owner. All the claimant had to do was to exhibit to a sheriff a certificate from a county clerk describing the slave. The officer was then required to put the slave into his peaceable possession. This law the United States Supreme Court said did not violate the Constitution. The decision gave great offense to the North. At least fourteen Northern States by their Legislatures soon passed laws nullifying the Fugitive Slave Law by making it a crime for any sheriff to obey it, and by forbidding any state officer to aid in enforcing it. Their course made it impossible to enforce this law of Congress. The Southern States then argued that if fourteen Northern States could thus nullify a law of the Union they could withdraw from that Union. In the Presidential campaign of 1860 the Breckenridge party in the South declared if the Republican party were successful at the polls the Southern States would withdraw from the Union. When it did succeed they proceeded at once to carry out that threat.

140. The Election.—The Democratic party in 1860 divided into two factions. One part, known as the State-rights men, nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky for President. The other part, which was opposed to secession and to the interference by the national Government with the local affairs and institutions of any State, nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois. The remnant of the old Whig and Know Nothing parties, now known as Constitution-Union men, nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President and

Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice-President. The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln. The contest in Missouri was warm and intense, but not violent. The State was carried by Douglas, and it was the only State, except New Jersey, that gave him its electoral vote. Mr. Lincoln was elected. The number of votes for Douglas in Missouri was 58,801, for Bell 58,372, for Breckenridge 31,317, for Lincoln 17,028. Nearly all those voting for Lincoln were Germans. Of those who voted for Breckenridge, not half were in favor of secession. Many of them had come from the South, and in the intense excitement of the time their sympathies naturally enlisted them with the Southern Rights men who carried every Southern State. Besides, most of them, perhaps all, opposed the interference by Congress with a right which they claimed belonged alone to each individual State—to decide for itself whether or not it would abolish or continue slavery. But they did not wish to carry this opposition to the extreme of secession.

141. The State Ticket.—On the State ticket the Democrats did not divide. Their candidate was Claiborne F. Jackson of Saline County, who was a Douglas Democrat and who received 74,446 votes. Sample Orr, an "American" or "Know Nothing," received 64,583 votes. The Breckenridge candidate was Hancock Jackson, who received 11,415 votes. James Gardenhire was the Republican candidate; he received only 6,135 votes. Jackson was elected.

Questions on Chapter X.

1. What was now being formed? (138)
2. What is said of public feeling? (138)
3. What was the attitude of many people in the North toward slavery? (138)
4. How did the Southern people feel about it? (138)
5. What is said about the existence of slavery? (138)
6. What is said about its benefits to the slaves? (138)
7. What reasons for the extinction of slavery? (138)
8. What is said of the Fugitive Slave Law? (139)

9. How had the North nullified it? (139)
 10. What did the South argue from this? (139)
 11. How did the Democratic party divide in 1860? (140)
 12. Who were the four candidates for President and of what parties? (140)
 13. Approximate the vote of each in Missouri. (140)
 14. How about the State ticket? (141)
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CHAPTER XI.

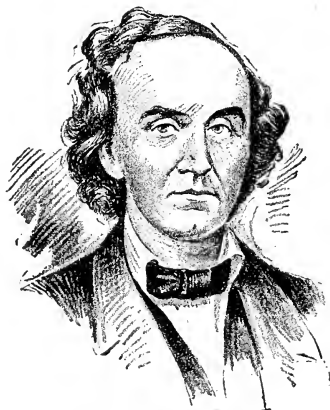
THE FIRST MONTHS OF 1861.

142. Confronted with Secession.—On December 20th, 1860, South Carolina, through her Legislature, declared she no longer owed any allegiance to the Union. Within six weeks Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and Texas—seven States—seceded. As Missouri was at this time the first in population of the slave-holding States, and as most of her people were of Southern origin, it may be seen at once that she was now confronted with the gravest problem she had ever had to settle.

143. The Governors.—Robert M. Stewart, the retiring Governor, had been reared in New York and his feelings naturally inclined him with the North. He sincerely desired to keep Missouri in the Union. But he was opposed to forcing South Carolina and the other seceded States back into the Union, and if the Union should undertake to do this he was opposed to Missouri helping in the undertaking. He was also opposed to troops coming into Missouri either to wrest her from the Union or keep her in it. He stated the proper position for Missouri to assume and adhere to was “armed neutrality”—that is, to take no part in the war, if war came, but be armed and prepared to resist invasion by any armed force. There can be no doubt, as subsequent events under more exasperating tests showed, that at this time the great majority of the people of Missouri were of the

same opinion as Governor Stewart. They did not wish the State to secede or to take any part in forcing the seceded States back into the Union. The votes given the various candidates in November showed this and the election in February made it still clearer.

144. Governor Jackson.—Governor Jackson, unlike Governor Stewart, had been reared in the South, and many social and political ties bound him to her people. In his inaugural address he declared that all Missouri wished was “to be let alone.” He believed the Northern States, by passing laws which nullified the Fugitive Slave Law, had themselves practically abandoned the Union. He believed if arms were employed by the Federal Government to force a State back into the Union that it would be such an insult as all the States ought to resent, and in that event the true position for Missouri would be to secede and unite with the South. It can not be denied that Governor Jackson was at this time in favor of Missouri’s seceding if the Federal Government should make war on the seceded States to force them back into the Union, but until that was done he was not in favor



Claiborne F. Jackson.

of secession. But this position he afterward abandoned, when the seceded States attempted to capture the Government forts and arsenals within their respective borders. He then took the position at first declared by Stewart that the proper course for Missouri was to preserve an “armed neutrality,” and keep out of the State all “marauders, come from what quarter they may,” but to take no part herself in the conflict between the States.

145. The Legislature. — The Lieutenant-Governor, whose duty it is to preside over the Senate, was Thomas C. Reynolds. From the outset he was in favor of secession, because he believed it impossible for Missouri to preserve an "armed neutrality" in the impending conflict, which he saw was inevitable. He accordingly urged the General Assembly to declare Missouri determined to resist all attempts by the Federal Government to force the seceded States back into the Union or to collect the Government revenue in those States. He also urged that to make her able to resist coercion she must organize and enlarge her military forces. He appointed all the committees of the Senate in accordance with his views, and placed men on these committees who would endeavor to shape legislation in keeping therewith. Bills were immediately introduced in both houses to arm and equip the State militia, and to provide for a State convention to consider what position Missouri should take in regard to secession. These bills were received with prompt and almost unanimous approval in the General Assembly.

146. The Convention Authorized.—The bill creating the convention passed the General Assembly and became a law on January 18th. In the Senate there were only two votes against it. In the House there were 18 against and 105 for it. The duties and powers thus committed to this convention were contained in the words creating it, which said it was "to consider the relations between the United States . . . and the State of Missouri; and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded." The law also provided if such convention should finally pass a secession ordinance that it should never be valid until submitted to the people and adopted by a majority of the qualified voters of the State. These words creating this convention are important, for it is to be observed that whatever might have been the individual wishes

of the members of this General Assembly for secession, yet they voluntarily transferred to other hands whatever power they had to take her out of the Union, and besides determined that this must be done, if done at all, by the people themselves.

147. The People.—The election of delegates to this convention was to take place on February 18th, just one month after the bill creating it became a law. A thorough canvass was at once begun throughout the State and carried forward with great interest till the end. The people divided into three parties, namely, Secessionists, Conditional Union men and Unconditional Union men. The leaders of the Secessionists were Governor Jackson, Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, both United States Senators (James S. Green and Trusten Polk), General D. R. Atchison (formerly United States Senator) and Thos. L. Snead (editor of the *St. Louis Bulletin*). They did not desire the disruption of the Union, and deplored the haste of South Carolina and the other States in leaving it. But believing that all the seceded States would remain out of the Union and form a separate confederacy, they considered it the true duty of all the slave-holding States to unite together; believing also, that if a separate confederacy were formed, there would be war between it and the Union, they felt they were bound by the strongest kindred ties to stand by the South. They were not especially devoted to slavery. In fact slavery was no longer the most prominent question in these discussions. It was from this time on put far in the background. The issue rose transcendently above this. "They were secessionists only because they believed the Union had been dissolved, that its reconstruction was impossible, that war was inevitable, and that in war the place for Missouri was by the side of the Southern States of which she was one."

148. The Conditional Union Men.—The Conditional Union men were the most formidable opponents of the Se-

cessionists. They were led by Judge Hamilton R. Gamble of St. Louis, General A. W. Doniphan of Clay, Congressman James S. Rollins of Boone, Congressman John B. Clark of Howard, Ex-Governor Sterling Price of Chariton, Ex-Governor R. M. Stewart of St. Joseph, Judge William A. Hall of Randolph, Congressman John S. Phelps of Greene, and Judge John F. Ryland of Lafayette, ably assisted by the *Missouri Republican*, then the ablest paper west of the Mississippi, and edited by the great Nathaniel Paschall, "a man of mature age, strong intellect and consummate common sense." These leaders were the ablest, most popular, and most prominent men in the State, and it is doubtful if any State in the Union could have shown at that time a finer array of many-sided great men. Their astuteness, popularity and well-known patriotism, added to the fact that many of them were themselves large slave-owners, at once began to divide the Secessionists. They were for the Union, provided the Federal Government would not attempt to force the seceded States back and coerce them into submission. They declared themselves ready to resist coercion. But they did not fear it. They pleaded with patriotic pride for the preservation of the Union of their fathers, which had been bought with blood, and which had brought a thousand blessings to one curse; they urged the people that they must not allow their feelings to control them, but must remember that the steps they took might involve their children and their children's children in untold misery.

149. The Unconditional Union Men.—The Unconditional Union men were for the Union come what might. They believed the seceded States should be coerced into submission. The impersonation of this movement was Francis Preston Blair. He saw that the only outcome of the trouble was war, that it must come in the near future and he was determined to hold Missouri for the Union. Blair contended that what was wanted in the convention were "men who were

now and who would hereafter, under all circumstances, and in every emergency, be for the Union;" that he himself intended to stand by it to the last and to oppose in every way the secession of Missouri. At first his chief following was



Francis Preston Blair.

among the Germans, who had no kindred in the South, who had bought their lands from the Federal Government, who had enjoyed uninterrupted peace under it, and who felt that they should stand by it. But soon he had some able seconds. They were Samuel T. Glover, James O. Broadhead, B. Gratz Brown, and Edward Bates, all of St. Louis.

150. Missouri Declares for the Union.—The election of ninety-nine delegates to this Convention took place on

February 18th, and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Union cause. Not a single avowed Secessionist was elected. The Union candidates received a total majority of eighty thousand, and the entire vote for them was almost three-fourths of all the ballots cast. It was a great disappointment to the General Assembly, whose members had confidently looked for an overwhelming victory for secession. It put a stop to any preparations by it for war, and for two months the discussions were mild, and submissive to the popular will. On the other hand, the triumph of the Union men emboldened the Convention, after a session or two, to take the extremest action.

Questions on Chapter XI.

1. What was now the situation? (142)
2. State fully the attitude of Governor Stewart. (143)
3. What was the attitude of the people? (143)
4. What was Governor Jackson's position? (144)
5. Did he afterwards abandon this position? (144)
6. What position did he then take? (144)
7. How did Reynolds try to lead the Legislature? (145)
8. What two bills were passed? (145)
9. What powers did the Legislature delegate to the Convention? (146)
10. Who alone did the Legislature consider had a right to take Missouri out of the Union? (146)
11. Who were the leaders of the Secessionists? (147)
12. What is said of their attitude? (147)
13. Who were the leaders of the Conditional Union men? (148)
14. What is said of them? (148)
15. What was their position? (148)
16. What was the position of the Unconditional Union men? (149)
17. Who was their great leader? (149)
18. What was the result of the election? (150)
19. How was it regarded by the General Assembly? (150)
20. How did it affect the convention? (150)

CHAPTER XII.**THE CONVENTION.**

151. The Convention Meets.—The convention, whose members had been elected on the eighteenth of February, the very day on which Jefferson Davis had been inaugurated President of the Confederacy, met at Jefferson City on the last of the month. Ex-Governor Sterling Price was elected President. He was an avowed Union man. The fifteen State-rights men voted for Nathaniel W. Watkins, a half-brother of Henry Clay. Soon after organization the convention adjourned to meet in St. Louis on March 4th, the day Lincoln became President. Its members were the ablest men in the State, now met at the time of the greatest crisis in its

history, "to consider its relations to the Government of the United States." Of the ninety-nine members fifty-three were natives of either Virginia or Kentucky, three were Germans and one an Irishman. Thirteen were from the North. Hamilton R. Gamble, who had been Supreme Judge of the State; Willard P. Hall, the vice-president; Robert Wilson, of great ability; James O. Broadhead, one of her ablest and most scholarly lawyers; and John B. Henderson, always a steadfast opponent of secession, were Virginians. They were conservative men; they did not want war; they wanted to preserve the Union, but they did not wish to do injustice to any man, and they deplored the radicalism of those who, on the one side, were eager for war, and on the other desired secession.

152. Against Secession and War.—The Committee on Federal Relations, through its chairman, Hamilton R. Gamble of St. Louis, on the ninth of March made a report declaring that secession by Missouri was "certainly not demanded." A part of the report said that "the true position for Missouri to assume is that of a State whose interests are bound up in the maintenance of the Union, and whose kind feelings and strong sympathies are with the people of the Southern States, with whom we are connected by the ties of friendship and blood." The resolutions were adopted by almost a unanimous vote, the opposition to each being only five or six votes. Thus was secession finally defeated.

153. The Moss Resolution.—The Convention also declared the employment of military force to coerce the seceded States back into the Union would plunge the country into war, and therefore "earnestly entreated" the Federal Government and the seceded States "to withhold and stay the arm of military power and upon no pretext whatever to bring upon the nation the horrors of civil war." But a difference of opinion manifested itself in the convention when the question was raised, What would Missouri do if the President should call on her to furnish troops to coerce the seceded States?

They were opposed to coercion, but what would Missouri do if she were going to remain in the Union, if Congress and the President determined to undertake coercion and should call on her for troops for the purpose? Mr. James H. Moss, a delegate of ability from Clay County, said he would not vote for secession under any circumstances, but introduced a resolution asking the convention to declare that Missouri would "never furnish men or money for the purpose of aiding the Federal Government in any attempts to coerce a seceding State." He supported the resolution warmly, and passionately pleaded with the convention to pass it. He declared "Missouri would never, never furnish a regiment to invade a seceded State." William A. Hall, of Randolph, who had been a circuit judge for sixteen years, replied to Mr. Moss, in argument that could not be gainsaid, that "if Missouri remained in the Union it would be her duty to furnish both men and money to the Federal Government when properly called upon for them, whether to coerce a State into submission or for any other purpose." John B. Henderson, of Pike, declared "the President has no more power to use force than you or I," and that no man could believe the "President will so far disregard his duties under the Constitution, or forget the obligations of his oath, as to undertake the subjugation of the Southern States by force." James O. Broadhead did not believe the Federal Government had a right to coerce a State, but did contend that it had power to use armed forces to suppress insurrection. Nearly all the delegates spoke against coercion, yet the Moss resolution failed, some voting against it because it was useless, a greater number honestly accepting Judge Hall's logic. By "the pitiless logic of facts" when the war did come on, Moss became a consistent supporter of the Union; Henderson was one of the most ardent supporters of Lincoln in the use of force; and Broadhead concurred with Lyon in making the attack on Camp Jackson and otherwise

aided in the efforts to coerce Governor Jackson and the Legislature into submission.

154. Adjourned.—The Convention, after it passed these resolutions, brought its labors to a close and adjourned on March 22nd, subject to the call of the executive committee. By this last arrangement it provided a way for self-perpetuation till secession became utterly impossible, as we shall hereafter see. On the twenty-eighth of the same month the Legislature adjourned without having made any arrangements for the war, or for raising and supporting a militia for the protection of the State. In fact it may be said, in all truthfulness, that the vast majority of the people did not want war, nor did they desire to go as far in the matter of preparedness as did Governor Stewart, who counseled “armed neutrality.” They did want neutrality; they did not want to secede from the Union, nor did they wish to fight for or against the Union. They wanted compromise and adjustment. But they were not permitted to have a free choice for adjustment. Radical men scoffed at neutrality, armed or unarmed; and events rapidly developed which made it plain that Missouri could not remain neutral.

155. More Light.—The election of United States Senator this year throws some light on the position the General Assembly regarded the State as holding towards secession. Early in the session, when it became apparent that a convention would be held to consider the question of secession, the Legislature had determined not to elect a successor to James S. Green, whose term would expire on March 3rd, till after it was learned whether the people preferred secession or the Union. When they voted for the Union, the Legislature proceeded to elect a Senator on March 12th. Mr. Green had been one of the most popular men in the State; at the age of thirty-two he had led the fight against Benton in 1849, was regarded as the ablest speaker in Missouri, for four years was a Representative in Congress, and in 1857 had been

elected to the Senate and was said by James G. Blaine thirty years later to have had "few peers and no superiors" in that body. But he was at this time an avowed secessionist. His election was, therefore, impossible, although on one ballot he got 76 out of the 156 votes cast. Waldo P. Johnson, of Osceola, St. Clair County, was elected on the fifteenth ballot. As indicating the part taken in the war by those most prominent in bringing it on, it is proper here to remark that James S. Green, who was set aside for being a secessionist, "did not raise his hand or his voice for the South during the war, while Johnson, who had been elected because he was a good Union man, quickly resigned his seat in the Senate, entered the army and fought for the Confederacy till the end of the war."

Questions on Chapter XII.

1. Who was elected president of the convention? (151)
2. When did it meet in St. Louis? (151)
3. What is said of its members? (151)
4. What about their nativity? (151)
5. Name some of them. (151)
6. What report did the committee on Federal Relations decide on? (152)
7. Was this report adopted? (152)
8. What was the Moss resolution? (153)
9. What did Mr. Moss say in regard to it? (153)
10. How did Hall answer him? (153)
11. What did John B. Henderson say? (153)
12. What was Broadhead's belief? (153)
13. What is said of "the pitiless logic of facts?" (153)
14. How did the convention arrange to perpetuate itself? (154)
15. What was the attitude of the people? (154)
16. What is said of the election of U. S. Senator this year? (155)
17. And what of the after conduct of Green and Johnson? (155)

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ARSENAL AND CAMP JACKSON.

156. The Government Arsenal.—There was a Government arsenal in St. Louis, well stored with forty thousand guns and other valuable munitions of war. This arsenal now became the center of all warlike intentions. Both sides wanted it, in the event that there was to be war. Governor Jackson had now come to believe war to be inevitable, and if it came he believed Missouri would be the natural ally of the South, and he determined to put her on that side if he could. He did not declare this purpose publicly, but he instructed General Frost, who had gone into camp just at the edge of St. Louis after his return from the Kansas troubles, with about 700 men, to keep himself well informed of all movements, and, if he deemed it necessary, to seize the arsenal and hold it for future disposal. General Frost in furtherance of this plan waited upon its commander, Major Bell, who frankly told him that he thought the State had a right to claim the arsenal as being on her soil and that he would not defend it against the proper State authorities. But before Frost could thus peaceably take possession of the arsenal, it was supplied with additional troops, Major Bell was relieved of command, and Major Hagner put in his place, and by the eighteenth of February, the day on which the State voted not to secede, there were four or five hundred soldiers behind the walls, able to repulse almost any attack which might be made on it, and on the next day General Harney notified the President that there was no danger of an attack and never had been. In this condition of things each side would have gone on without any disturbance from the other, had there not appeared on the scene a man who was ready and anxious for war. This man was Captain Nathaniel Lyon.

157. Captain Lyon was born at Ashford, Connecticut, educated at West Point and was an officer of the Standing Army. He was at this time forty-three years old and is described by a close friend as having been "of less than medium height; slender and angular; with abundant hair of a sandy color, and a coarse, reddish-brown beard. He had deep-set blue eyes, and features that were rough and homely"—though his pictures do not portray a face either rough or homely. His disposition made him fretful and impatient under restraint. He could see only one side of a question, but he saw that with terrible earnestness, and with no patience with any person who saw the other side. All persons who did not agree with him he regarded as being influenced by unworthy or improper motives. He was devoted to the Union and always eager to crush those who were not. Upon his arrival at St. Louis he at once set to work to make himself department commander, and never ceased until he had been given almost unlimited power to do as he pleased. His chief helper was Frank Blair, who at all times pushed him forward. Yet he was restive, and this led him to fear that Mr. Lincoln "lacked the resolution to grapple with treason and to put it down forever." He thought the best thing to do with a conservative man like Major Hagner was to "pitch him in the river." He had been in Kansas through all its border troubles between the Free-soil and the Pro-slavery men. He had formed the greatest dislike for the latter and in the troubles between the two factions said he foresaw "sectional strife, which I do not care to delay." He came to St. Louis possessed with this idea and feeling, and at



Captain Lyon.

once went to drilling the "Wide Awakes" and other volunteer soldiers gathered by Blair, and those quartered within the arsenal. In this he showed the greatest diligence and skill. He inspired all Union partisans with his own courage and zeal. By the middle of April, four regiments had been enlisted, and he proceeded to arm them with guns from the arsenal. With this well-trained force he and Blair felt strong enough to attack Governor Jackson and his followers, and they lost no time in finding a pretext for so doing.

158. A Call for Troops.—Fort Sumter surrendered to a Confederate army on April 13, 1861. On the same day President Lincoln issued a proclamation "for seventy-five thousand men to suppress combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings," and on the same day the Secretary of War telegraphed Governor Jackson his requisition for four regiments of infantry. On the sixteenth the Governor replied: "Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on an unholy crusade upon the seceded States." The people of Missouri indorsed the Governor's reply, but to Blair and Lyon it was reason enough to make an attack upon Frost. Besides, this reply was supplemented by frequent reports that guns and ammunition, obtained from the Government arsenal in Louisiana, had been secretly brought up the river and conveyed to Camp Jackson, where Frost's little command was now encamped.

159. Liberty Arsenal.—There was another Government arsenal about four miles south of Liberty in Clay County. It was in charge of Major Nathaniel Grant and two other men, and contained about 11,000 pounds of powder, about 1500 guns and twenty or thirty small cannon. On the twentieth of April, just seven days after President Lincoln's call for troops, 200 men under the command of Colonel H. L. Routt, most of them from Clay and Jackson counties, quietly took possession of this arsenal, with no interruption except the protests and railings of Grant, at whom they only laughed.

Within the next few days they carried away most of the guns and powder. These were never retaken, but were used in after years in the service of the Confederacy. The captors, however, seemed to have had no other purpose than to supply themselves with arms and ammunition for whatever troubles might arise. But the capture of this arsenal and the reports about Camp Jackson determined Lyon on making an attack upon that camp.

160. Harney and Lyon.—The time was now opportune to make the attack. General Harney, who was in charge of the department, and to whom therefore Lyon and Blair were inferior officers, had been summoned to Washington to answer for his official conduct on the complaint of Blair. This complaint was founded on a conflict between Lyon's troops and the St. Louis police. Lyon had been patrolling the streets in front of the arsenal with his troops. This was in violation of the city laws and an interference with the duties of the Board of Police Commissioners. The Board complained to Lyon and demanded that he should obey the laws. Lyon refused. The Board was powerless to enforce their complaints in the face of his well-armed troops, and appealed to General Harney, his superior officer. He ordered Lyon to withdraw his patrols into the limits of the arsenal and not to issue arms to anyone except by his sanction. This led Blair to charge Harney to the Secretary of War as having controverted his orders, and in consequence Harney was summoned to Washington to defend himself. Harney, who was opposed to any aggressive attacks, was now out of the way and Lyon was left in full command.

161. Lyon and Camp Jackson.—General Lyon, disguised as an old woman, on the ninth of May, the next day after the arms and ammunition had been received at Camp Jackson from Louisiana, drove through the camp, and satisfied himself that the men had in their possession guns and ammunition which had been taken from the captured United

States arsenal at Baton Rouge and which rightfully belonged, in his opinion, to the Federal Government. These were easily to be seen, for Frost had required them to be stacked outside at the entrance to the regular camp. Lyon returned and reported that the camp was "a nest of traitors." This was Thursday the ninth. Harney would return on Sunday. He and Blair determined on an attack forthwith, and that it should be made next day. On the next morning General Frost, who had for two days been receiving reports that Lyon would make an attack on his camp, addressed him a letter in which he denied that he or any part of his command was actuated by any hostile intentions to the Federal Government and closed by adding: "I trust after this explicit statement we may be able, by fully understanding each other, to keep far from our borders the misfortunes which unhappily afflict our common country." But Lyon refused to receive the letter and sent it back unopened. His troops were already forming for the march to the camp, which he declared was made up mostly of secessionists, who were plotting to overthrow the Government's authority.

162. The Attack.—He surrounded the camp with his well-disciplined soldiers, and sent a demand to Frost for his immediate and unconditional surrender. As his force numbered 7,000 men and more, and Frost's 700, the latter at once did so. The captured soldiers stacked their arms and were arranged in a line along Olive Street, which was occupied by Lyon's troops, there halted and kept standing over an hour. Great numbers of men, women and children from the city gathered around the troops and prisoners, and at times attacked the troops with stones, and called them, in derision, "Dutch Blackguards," because one of the German companies called itself *Die Schwartze Garde* (the Black Guard). The soldiers resented this by firing into the crowd, first with a few shots, which were almost immediately "followed by volley after volley." When the firing ceased twenty-eight

persons lay dead or mortally wounded, among them three of the prisoners who had only a little while before surrendered, and an infant in the arms of its mother, and one of Lyon's soldiers. The march was at once resumed to the arsenal and the next day the prisoners were released on their own parole not to bear arms against the Government while the war should last.

163. A Blunder.—The attack upon Camp Jackson proved to be a blunder. It was intended to crush out all spirit of secession in the State and completely disarm and crush the influence of those who wished it to secede. This number was small. It will be remembered that the question of secession had been submitted to the people on the eighteenth of February and had been declared against by a majority of eighty thousand votes. Since that time instead of gaining the secession sentiment had waned. Even the doctrine of the numerous Conditional Union men, that Missouri would secede only when the Federal Government should attempt to coerce and force the seceded States back into the Union, had been abandoned, and most of those who had prior to the election on February 18th held to this view, had prepared to quietly submit to this attempted coercion. With the exception of Governor Jackson and a handful of his enthusiastic followers, the vast majority of the people preferred that Missouri should remain in the Union and take no part in the Civil War, now already begun in other States. But now everything was changed. In the twinkling of an eye a shudder of horror ran through the State at the needless killing of private citizens and surrendered prisoners by a foreign-born soldiery led by an unrelenting captain from another State, whose course seemed to receive the entire sanction of President Lincoln. The news was telegraphed to Jefferson City where the Legislature had been in special session since May 2nd. At that very time it happened the Military Bill, designed for the organization of the State Militia for any emergency that

might arise, was being considered and had been under consideration for several days. It was being successfully opposed, because it was believed the people had pronounced against any military preparations, and for the further reason that it was feared the Governor might use the militia in aid of secession. The bill for these reasons could never have been passed had not the Camp Jackson affair occurred. But within fifteen minutes after the news had been received at the Capitol that the United States forces had attacked the State forces the Military Bill had been rushed through both houses of the General Assembly, and was ready for the Governor's signature. That was an indication of the rapid change in the feelings of the people. Within five days the Legislature passed laws authorizing the expenditure of over two million dollars "to repel invasion and put down rebellion," as it said. Fortunately the Legislature had some time before referred to the convention and to the people the question of secession; if this had not been done, the Legislature would now with equal precipitation have passed a secession ordinance.

164. Preparations for War.—Preparations for the war by both sides now went on apace. Hundreds of men who up to this time remained loyal to the Union, felt themselves driven into the secession movement by the unfortunate affair at Camp Jackson. Among those who identified themselves with this movement was Sterling Price, who had been Governor of the State from 1853 to 1857, and who had reflected great glory upon Missouri in the Mexican War. He now offered his sword to Governor Jackson to fight for what he declared to be in defense of the State. He was appointed major-general of the Missouri State Guard. The State was divided into eight military districts and over each was appointed a brigadier-general to organize and drill the militia. For this purpose Governor Jackson appointed A. W. Doniphan, Monroe M. Parsons, James S. Rains, John B. Clark, Thomas A. Harris, Nathaniel W. Watkins, A. E. Steen, W. Y.

Slack and James H. McBride; Colonel Doniphan, however, refused to accept the appointment, but remained steadfast in his allegiance to the Union, yet took no part in the war.

165. Indorsed by Harney.—General Harney had in the meantime returned to St. Louis. He deemed the attack on Camp Jackson as proper and just, and said two of the streets of the camp were called Davis and Beauregard, after Jefferson Davis and the general who had led the attack on Fort Sumter, and that soldiers therein had openly worn the dress and badge of Confederate soldiers. He issued a proclamation on the fourteenth of May in which he declared: "No Government in the world would be entitled to respect that would, for a moment, tolerate such openly treasonable preparations," and announced that the whole power of the United States would be employed, if necessary, to maintain its authority as "the supreme law of the land." Beyond this he wished only to preserve the general peace and to protect all loyal citizens from violence of any kind. On the seventeenth of May he asked the War Department for ten thousand guns, and that nine thousand men should be furnished him by Iowa and Minnesota.

166. Price-Harney Agreement.—While these preparations for war were going on, conservative men appealed to Harney and Price to preserve the peace and agree upon a plan of neutrality; General Harney accordingly sent an invitation to General Price to meet him for the purpose of forming such an agreement, which Price, with Governor Jackson's approval, readily accepted. The Price-Harney agreement was formed, wherein each avowed it was his purpose "to restore peace and good order," and Price was to be intrusted with the duty of keeping order in the State, subject to the laws of the Federal and State governments. If this were done the people were assured by Harney that he would have no occasion, as he had no wish, "to make military movements in the State which might create jealousies or excitement."

In accordance with this agreement, Price dismissed the troops at Jefferson City. But because the agreement, which Harney said produced a good effect throughout the State, did not include that all military organizations should cease and the militia be dispersed, this action of Harney's gave great offense to Blair and Lyon, who at once determined upon his removal. Accordingly, O. D. Filley, as a member of the St. Louis "Safety Committee," which had all along supported Lyon and Blair, sent out a circular letter to every part of the State asking that full and detailed reports be sent in of all offensive treatment of loyal Union men by the secession element. These reports were very voluminous. They were forwarded to President Lincoln, who sincerely believed them, but Harney did not, but declared that Price was faithfully carrying out his part of the agreement. The President thought these "outrages should be stopped," and therefore relieved Harney, and put General Lyon in command.

167. War Declared.—General Lyon was no longer impeded by a conservative superior officer, but left free to pursue any course he pleased. Both sides began at once to again make active preparations for the war. But before much had been done William A. Hall and other honorable citizens made another effort to prevent a conflict, and persuaded Governor Jackson to ask an interview with General Lyon "for the purpose of effecting a pacific solution of the troubles of Missouri." Lyon regarded Governor Jackson as a traitor, but if he should come to St. Louis for this purpose, Lyon promised that he would not arrest him while there or on his way back to the capital. Accordingly the interview took place at the Planters' House, St. Louis, on the eleventh of June. The Governor was accompanied by General Price and Thomas L. Snead, who appeared for the State, while Lyon, Blair and Major Conant represented the Federal Government. General Lyon led the conference for his side, which lasted for four or five hours. In a proclamation which the

Governor published next day he declared that in this interview he had proposed to Lyon and Blair: "That I would disband the State Guard and break up its organization; that I would disarm all the companies which had been armed by the State; that I would pledge myself not to attempt to organize the militia under the Military Bill; that no arms or other munitions of war should be brought into the State; that I would protect all citizens equally in all their rights, regardless of their political opinions; that I would suppress all insurrectionary movements within the State; that I would repel all attempts to invade it from whatever quarter and by whomsoever made; and that I would thus maintain a strict neutrality in the present unhappy contest, and preserve the peace of the State." This was a clear abandonment of secession by the Governor, but the proposition was made upon the condition that the Federal Government would undertake to disarm the volunteer soldiers called the Home Guards, and would pledge itself not to occupy with its troops any locality in the State not occupied by them at that time. Finally, when this proposition had been fully discussed (till all present understood it), Lyon suddenly broke up the conference by this reply: "Rather than concede to the State of Missouri the right to demand that my Government shall not enlist troops within her limits, or bring troops into the State whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will into, out of, or through the State; rather than concede to the State of Missouri for one instant the right to dictate to my Government in any matter however unimportant, I would see you and every man, woman and child in the State dead and buried;" and, turning to the Governor, he said: "This means war; in an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines." And it did mean war. Men who had known and loved each other for years now bade farewell and turned away, a part to fight for the Union, the other part for the State.

Questions on Chapter XIII.

1. What is said of the arsenal near St. Louis and Jackson's attempt to gain possession of it? (156)
2. Describe Captain Lyon. (157)
3. What had he to say of Mr. Lincoln? (157)
4. What did he foresee from the Kansas troubles? (157)
5. What did he and Blair determine on? (157)
6. What call did Mr. Lincoln make? (158)
7. What was Jackson's reply? (158)
8. How did Blair and Lyon regard this reply? (158)
9. What other bad report did they hear? (158)
10. What is said of Liberty arsenal? (159)
11. What conflict between Harney and Lyon had occurred? (160)
12. Describe Lyon's conduct on May 9. (161)
13. What did Frost do on the morning of the tenth? (161)
14. Describe the attack on Camp Jackson. (162)
15. What was the purpose of the attack on Camp Jackson? (163)
16. How did it prove to be a blunder? (163)
17. What were some of its effects? (164)
18. Who was placed in command of the State Guard? (164)
19. How did Harney regard the attack on Camp Jackson? (165)
20. What was the Price-Harney agreement? (166)
21. How did Price begin to carry it out? (166)
22. What did Harney say of it? (166)
23. How did the Safety Committee break it down? (166)
24. What was the result on Harney? (166)
25. What further efforts at peace were made? (167)
26. Describe the interview between Lyon and Jackson. (167)
27. What did Jackson propose? (167)
28. Upon what condition were these propositions made? (167)
29. Was Lyon willing to concede to the State the right to dictate to the Federal Government? (167)
30. What did he say? (167) What did that mean? (167)

CHAPTER XIV.

BOONVILLE, CARTHAGE AND COWSKIN PRAIRIE.

168. Hasty Movements.—Jackson and Price hastened to Jefferson City immediately after the conference with Lyon, arriving there at two o'clock at night. Before daylight the Governor had issued his proclamation, setting forth in full the propositions of the conference, and asking for fifty thousand volunteers, "for the purpose," he said, "of repelling the attack that had been made on the State and for the protection of the lives, liberties and property of her citizens." He also sent orders to the commanders of the different military districts (mentioned in section 164), to assemble their men and prepare for active service. On the next day he and Price and the State officers, with the State papers, hastily set out for Boonville, General Price having previously caused the railroad bridges over the Osage and Gasconade to be destroyed so as to prevent Lyon's approach by rail, and directed General Parsons, who had collected a small force, to retire to a point along the Missouri Pacific Railroad and there await orders.

169. At Boonville.—On his arrival at Boonville Jackson found General John B. Clark already there with several hundred men. They continued to arrive during the next two days, and came in little squads from all around the country, but mostly from north of the river where Clark and Price were greatly beloved. But Price soon became convinced that it would be impossible for him to hold the river against the superior force of General Lyon, who was rapidly moving up the river. He needed time to organize an army, to train the troops, who knew nothing at all of a soldier's duties, and to furnish them with guns and ammunition. He, therefore, leaving Jackson and Clark behind him, hastened on to Lex-

ington. His plan was to assume command of the troops who had been assembling at that point, which had been threatened by a large body of Kansas and national forces, and withdraw them to the southwest, where he hoped for time to organize, arm and equip them.

170. Lyon's Movements.—The movements of General Lyon were equally active. Immediately after the conference in St. Louis with Jackson and Price, he telegraphed to Washington for five thousand stand of arms and authority to enlist more troops in Missouri. Both requests were immediately granted. He ordered Colonels Sigel, Salomon and B. Gratz Brown with their regiments to set out for Springfield. Brigadier-General Thomas W. Sweeney was put in command of this expedition, and its object was to intercept Governor Jackson if he should attempt to retreat to Arkansas. Lyon himself took two thousand well-trained troops and started by boat next day for Jefferson City. He arrived there on the fifteenth of June, and leaving Colonel Boernstein and three hundred men to hold the city, he himself proceeded up the river. When within eight miles of Boonville, he landed most of his men, and caused the boats to move on past the city with the rest, in order to deceive Jackson as to his real purpose.

171. Battle of Boonville.—The battle of Boonville was fought on Monday, June 17th, between Colonel Marmaduke with less than five hundred men, and General Lyon with over three times that number. The engagement was sharp and was kept up for some time. It took place one mile east of the city and resulted in routing Marmaduke, with two men killed and five slightly wounded. Lyon's loss was two men killed and nine wounded. Jackson was now obliged to beat a hasty retreat to the southwest, which he did with his entire force, including General Parsons, who had joined him at Boonville on the very day of the fight with Lyon. Lyon remained at Boonville two weeks waiting for his supplies,

and thoroughly discouraging any secession movements by his very presence.

172. Discouraging Effects.—This battle of Boonville, trifling as it may appear from the amount of fighting done, proved to be perhaps the most important to the Union cause fought in Missouri during the entire war. It was the first real fight between the State and Union forces and the Union had won. It was fought, on the part of the State, by volunteers alone. When these were defeated it almost put a stop to volunteer enlistments in Price's army. The ardor of the Southern sympathizers had led them to believe that Jackson's forces would gain this battle. When he failed they were so discouraged and calmed that they quietly submitted. All North Missouri was now in complete subjection. At Lexington Price was threatened with a force of 2500 men from Kansas under Major Sturgis. He therefore ordered his troops to proceed southward under command of General Rains to join Jackson, and set out himself for Arkansas to induce General Ben McCulloch with a large Confederate army to enter the State and assist in driving Lyon from it.

173. The Battle of Carthage.—Jackson retreated southward rapidly. His force consisted of between six and seven thousand men, badly organized and poorly supplied with arms and ammunition. At Lamar he was joined by Rains, and as he approached Carthage he suddenly found Colonel Sigel in his front, with about a thousand well-armed men. On July 5th a line of battle was drawn on a ridge which gently inclined towards Coon Creek, about twelve miles from Carthage. About 2600 infantry armed with shotguns and rifles, and 1500 mounted men similarly armed, took part in the fight on the part of the State troops. Sigel opened the fight with a steady fire of shot, grape and shell. It was kept up for about an hour, when about two thousand of Jackson's unarmed men were ordered to take shelter in the skirting of woods on his right. Sigel did not know they were unarmed,

but supposed they were ordered to attack him in the rear, and withdrew his men in good order beyond the creek. There he left Essig's battery and five companies of infantry to prevent the State troops from crossing. When the troops got within four hundred yards of the ford they were met by the well-directed shots from Essig's battery. Here the hottest fighting of the day followed. But Generals Clark and Parsons managed to cross at another ford, and were about to cut off any possibility of Essig's escape. He therefore fell back to the main body of Sigel's army, which continued its retreat on to Sarcoxie, twenty miles away. Sigel's loss was thirteen killed and thirty-one wounded. Jackson's loss was ten killed and sixty-four wounded. The losses on each side have often been erroneously reported to be three or four hundred.

174. Lyon's Course.—We left General Lyon at Boonville. He remained there two weeks and then set out to run Jackson down, give him battle and compel him to surrender or drive him from the State. He arrived within twelve miles of Springfield on July 12th, and "accompanied by a body-guard of ten stalwart troopers for his especial escort, he dashed through the streets of the city on his iron-grey horse, his bearded warriors being mounted on powerful chargers and armed to the teeth with great revolvers and massive swords." The next day he telegraphed to headquarters that Governor Jackson was in that vicinity with not less than thirty thousand men, and asked for ten thousand additional troops. As a matter of fact Jackson had on the previous day left for Arkansas, and the entire combined force of Lyon's foes did not at any time amount to over fifteen thousand men, armed and unarmed.

175. Organization of Price's Army.—Lyon's two weeks' delay at Boonville proved invaluable to Price. Price had been successful in inducing McCulloch to cross the border with several regiments of Confederates and Arkansas troops, but without waiting for them he hastened back to Missouri:

to organize his own army. On July 12th he led his troops toward Cowskin Prairie, in McDonald County, and there had a breathing spell, and began at once a systematic organization of his army and energetic preparations for an active campaign. He had few arms or military supplies of any kind and no money with which to procure them. But he needed no money to pay the men. They never expected any pay, had never been promised any, but had volunteered their services to fight for the State and to help the Governor maintain its dignity and himself at its head as its rightful executive, as they believed. They were intelligent men; such men imbued with the spirit and purposes which actuated them can always devise munitions of war. Governor Jackson on leaving the capital had brought along a supply of powder. The lead was taken from the Granby mines near by. One of the officers, Major Thomas H. Price, devised from the trunks of large trees monster molds for buckshot and bullets. The work of organizing and equipping the State Guard thus went on apace, and by the end of July it was ready to take the field with an effective force of five thousand men armed with hunting rifles, shotguns, a few cannons and a few army guns, while two thousand more unarmed men were waiting to pick up the guns of those who might be stricken in battle or by disease.

Questions on Chapter XIV.

1. What did Jackson do on his arrival at Jefferson City? (168)
2. How did Price try to impede Lyon's movements? (168)
3. What other preparations for a campaign were made? (169)
4. Describe Lyon's movements. (170)
5. Describe the battle of Boonville. (171)
6. What is said of the importance of this fight? (172)
7. Detail the incidents of the battle of Carthage. (173)
8. What was Lyon's next movement? (174)
9. What telegram did he send from Springfield? (174)
10. Describe Price's movements and the organization of his army. (175)

CHAPTER XV.

THE BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK.

176. Forward Movements.—On the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of July General Price, with a force of 5,000 armed and 2,000 unarmed Missourians, General McCulloch with a brigade of 3200 well-armed Confederates, and General Pearce with 2500 Arkansas troops, in all nearly thirteen thousand men, began to unite their forces near Cassville, fifty-two miles southwest of Springfield. On the thirty-first they started for that city. Lyon learned of the movement next day, but was led to believe they were marching upon the city by separate routes. He determined therefore to attack them in detail and started the same day to meet the force advancing from Cassville. He went twenty-four miles in that direction, but being unable to learn anything about the army in front of him, which was, in fact, the entire forces of Pearce, Price and McCulloch, and fearful that they, with their larger force, would flank him and cut off all communication with Springfield, on Monday, August 3rd, he returned thither. By this time McCulloch had pretty well lost confidence in "the undisciplined" Missouri troops, and in order to pacify him General Price, who was a far abler general, yielded to him the chief command. McCulloch followed Lyon toward Springfield to Wilson's Creek, about nine miles southwest. Here he camped in a considerable valley, within reach of some ripening cornfields, which were to be the only subsistence of his army for the next day or two. Near the ford across this creek the valley was narrow, and toward the west was a hill gradually rising from the creek to a height of nearly one hundred feet, and covered with undergrowth and scrub-oak trees. This hill has since been known as "Bloody Hill," and here on Saturday, August 10th, 1861, was fought the bloody battle of Wilson's Creek.

177. The Battle.—Friday, August 9th, Lyon ordered Sigel to set out late in the afternoon with his entire force of twelve hundred men, turn McCulloch's right flank and attack him in the rear. He himself set out with four thousand two hundred men. About midnight he halted within two miles of Bloody Hill, and the next morning at dawn started for that point. At five o'clock he came in contact with the advance State forces under Hunter, which fell back over the brow of Bloody Hill. As they did so, Lyon opened on them with his cannon, and immediately Sigel, who had completely gained McCulloch's right, responded with his guns upon the eastern outposts. McCulloch hastened off to meet Sigel, and Price to engage Lyon. Price's and Lyon's forces formed within three hundred yards of each other, but the undergrowth kept them entirely concealed. Price deployed 3100 men under Generals Clark, Parsons and McBride along the eastern declivity; Lyon, leaving the rest of his men for reserve, took 1900 of them and formed along the western side, his under-officers being the afterwards-famous Generals Schofield, Totten, Sturgis, Granger, Elliott, and Osterhaus. Price waited for Lyon to make the attack. This he did soon after six o'clock. "Forward" rang along the lines and was plainly heard by both sides. Then followed the crackling of the brush through which Lyon's men were advancing, then the sharp click of a thousand rifles, the reply of a thousand shot-guns and the roar of the cannon. The battle raged for five hours with desperate fury. "The lines approached again and again within less than fifty yards of each other, and then, after delivering a deadly fire, each would fall back a few paces to re-form and re-load, only to advance again to this strange battle in the woods." Frequently the deepest silence would fall upon the men after one of these charges. The two armies were grappling in a death struggle for Missouri.

About nine o'clock Sigel had been completely routed with very little hard fighting and was in full retreat to Springfield. His men had taken instant flight on the dashing onslaught of the Third Louisiana Regiment, which they took for Iowa friends. Throwing themselves into the brush, which lined both sides of the road, they became separated. Sigel and Salomon, with about two hundred Germans, and Carr's company of cavalry, started for Springfield, but were suddenly set upon by Colonel Major, with some mounted Missourians and Texans. The Germans being abandoned by Carr, were nearly all either killed, wounded, or captured. Sigel reached Springfield with only one man.

The entire Confederate force, after the defeat of Sigel, was ordered to assist Price in his conflict with Lyon. Seeing all this army concentrating before him, Lyon determined to dash upon Price with all his might and crush him to the ground before these gathering forces could come to his relief. Then followed the hottest fight of the day. "The engagement at once became general and desperately fierce along the entire line, Price's men appearing in front, often in three or four ranks, lying down, kneeling and standing, and the lines often approaching within thirty or forty yards of each other." Riding along in front of his men, now broken and weary by the long night-march and four hours' hard fighting, the intrepid Lyon encouraged them to make one more effort to win the day. Suddenly his horse was shot from under him, and he himself was wounded in the head and in the leg. He was stunned for the moment, and was heard to confusedly say he feared the day was lost. Then recovering himself, he mounted another horse and rode gallantly along the lines, waving his hat and urging his men to follow. The soldiers instantly closed around him, and together they dashed into the fight. The next moment a ball had pierced Lyon's breast and he was dead. The command fell on Major Sturgis, who ordered retreat. The Union forces moved away in perfect order

from the field for which they had fought so bravely and so long.

178. The Results of the Battle.—Of the 5400 Union men who took part in the fight, 1317 officers and men were killed, wounded or missing. General Lyon, every brigadier-general and every colonel engaged on Bloody Hill were either killed or wounded, so that the army was led off by a major. The total loss of the Confederate and State troops was 1230 killed and wounded, out of 10,000 men who in some way took part in the battle. Colonels Weightman, Cawthorn and Ben Brown were killed; Foster, Kelly and Burbridge were disabled; Generals Slack, Clark and Price were wounded. The total number wounded, killed and missing on both sides was 2547, or sixteen per cent. Of the 7700 men who took part in the battle on Bloody Hill, on both sides, 1880, or about twenty-five per cent were killed or wounded. Old soldiers who took part in the battle have frequently corroborated each other in stating that on one acre of the field where the battle was fiercest, at least half the surface was covered with dead or dying men.

179. The Retreat.—Lyon's army had been completely defeated. It was now at the mercy of Price and McCulloch if they chose to pursue. It had an immense and richly-laden wagon train and other spoils valued at one million five hundred thousand dollars. These it undertook to conduct safely to Rolla. Its adversaries had come out of the battle with three or four thousand men who had scarcely fired a gun. Beside, the battle gave them plenty of arms and ammunition. They could also have had this immense army train, and thereby supplies for their army for months. But McCulloch refused to follow up the victory and take easy possession of the fruit which the rules of war made his. He was a Confederate officer in command of a Confederate army. He had been stationed in Arkansas for the defense of that State and the Indian Territory. His duty was to defend, not to

attack. Missouri was yet in the Union. He had no authority to attack a loyal State. He had repelled Lyon's intended invasion of Arkansas and Indian Territory, and having succeeded he now conceived it his duty to withdraw from Missouri. In vain did Price beg him to lead the forces against the retreating Union army. To have done so would have been to retake the State within sixty days. Price was unable to accomplish this movement with his forces alone, and before he could undertake it the Union army had increased to many times larger than his own. Sturgis made the trip to Rolla in peace, and Price was never afterwards able to make any headway against the overwhelming Union forces that now poured into the State.

Questions on Chapter XV.

1. What were the Confederate and State forces at the close of July and who were in command? (176)
2. What did Lyon hear and do? (176)
3. How did McCulloch happen to be in command? (176)
4. To what place did McCulloch follow Lyon? (176)
5. What movement did Lyon and Sigel make on August 9? (177)
6. Describe the arrangement of troops on both sides. (177)
7. Describe the battle on Bloody Hill. (177)
8. What success had Sigel had? (177)
9. What further is said of the fight on Bloody Hill? (177)
10. What were some of the results of the battle? (178)
11. What is said of the retreat? (179)
12. What was the result of failure to follow up the victory? (179)

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LAST MONTHS OF 1861.

180. Actions of the Convention.—The second meeting of the Convention, which, instead of dissolving after its March session, had only taken a recess to reconvene at the call of its executive committee, was begun in Jefferson City on July 22nd. Its former president, Ex-Governor Price, had accepted the position of major-general of the State troops, and his seat was declared vacant because of that fact. Robert Wilson, of Buchanan County, was elected president in his stead. The Convention then entered upon some extraordinary proceedings. On July 30th it declared the office of Governor vacant and elected one of its own members, Hamilton R. Gamble, of St. Louis, Governor in Jackson's place. It declared the office of Lieutenant-Governor vacant and elected Willard P. Hall, of St. Joseph, in Mr. Reynolds's stead. It went further and declared the offices of the members of the Legislature vacant and agreed upon a time for electing their successors. Before that time had arrived the election was postponed, by subsequent sessions, till November, 1862, and before an election was held at all, it passed laws prescribing that no person should be allowed to vote who did not indorse the actions of the Convention. It went still further and began to perform the powers of the General Assembly, and these powers it exercised for seventeen months before giving the people a chance to elect a new Legislature in place of the one whose powers it had assumed, and not till 1864 did it permit the people to elect a Governor in Jackson's stead, although the Constitution plainly required that in case of a vacancy in the office of Governor an election should be held to fill it. These acts of the Convention have usually been excused on the ground of military necessity. That the great

mass of the people quietly submitted to such a change, was positive proof that they realized the State was now in the midst of a great war, which required the exercise of new and extraordinary powers by this body which assumed to act for the State; and whether they approved of the course of the Convention or not as being the best policy, it remains true that nearly all its members were conservative, loyal men, who at all times had in mind only to secure peace and keep the State in the Union. As soon as it was certain that the destiny of the State would be safely Union in the hands of a new Legislature, the Convention laid down its assumed powers and permitted the Legislature to exercise them as it had done in former days.

181. Battle of Lexington.—After the battle of Wilson's Creek, General McCulloch withdrew to Indian Territory, General Pearce took his troops back to Arkansas, and General Price started north for the Missouri river. On the thirteenth of September his forces drew up in front of Lexington, and on the eighteenth began besieging the place. The Union troops were well intrenched behind good embankments on Masonic College Hill, the present location of Central College for Women. General James A. Mulligan was in command with about one thousand five hundred Missourians and an equal number of Illinois troops. General Price's men numbered about seven thousand fit for service. They made movable breastworks of bales of hemp, under shelter of which they approached within thirty yards of Mulligan's works. The siege was kept up for fifty-two hours. Then Mulligan surrendered. According to General Price, the fruits of this victory were three thousand prisoners, five pieces of artillery, over three thousand stand of arms, seven hundred and fifty horses, about one hundred thousand dollars worth of commissary stores and a large amount of other property. He also obtained the restoration of "nine hundred thousand dollars in money which had been taken from a

bank in the city." During the siege both armies underwent great hardships. When it first began, thousands of Price's troops, who had not slept or eaten for thirty-six hours, fought desperately all day. When Mulligan surrendered, his men were entirely out of water, and all they had had during a great part of the siege had been obtained by catching the water of a slight rain in their blankets and then wringing them in buckets. A week later Price abandoned Lexington and started southward.

182. The Secession Legislature.—While General Price was at Lexington, Governor Jackson issued a call from that place for the General Assembly to meet on October 21st at Neosho, in the southwest corner of the State, where it could be under the shelter of Price's army. Just how many members were present is not known, for the records of its proceedings do not state. Perhaps not a quorum of either house. If this were true, its actions could not be binding upon the State. Yet it is true that it passed a secession act by which it declared Missouri withdrawn from the Union. It elected John B. Clark, Sr., and R. L. Y. Peyton to the Confederate Senate at Richmond, Virginia, and eight other gentlemen to the House. For purposes of its own the Confederacy chose to recognize these acts of the Legislature as legal, and admitted Missouri into the Confederacy. There can be no doubt that many of the people indorsed the action of this Legislature. In fact, ever since the attack on Camp Jackson, public sentiment had been growing for secession. But the Convention, which some months before this declared vacant the seats of the members of the Legislature, still exercised the powers of that body and was sustained by the strong hand of military power. In its subsequent dealings with the State, Congress chose to recognize the Convention as being the only power that could take Missouri out of the Union. Consequently the State never seceded. But after this "Secession Act" the organization of the State Guard ceased, and

all those who "went south" and joined the Confederate army were known as Confederates, although it was more than three months after this before any of them ever saw a Confederate flag. Soon after this Governor Jackson went south and remained out of the State most of the time till his death, which occurred at Little Rock, December 6, 1862. From that time on Thomas C. Reynolds, the Lieutenant-Governor, acted in Jackson's stead till the people elected Thos. C. Fletcher Governor, in 1864. Of course the power he exercised was limited, and was in dispute of the right of Gamble to act as Governor of the State. He appointed members to the Confederate Congress, both House and Senate, and made a few other like appointments, but aside from this he was Governor only in name.

Questions on Chapter XVI.

1. When did the convention again meet? (180)
2. Whom did it elect president? (180)
3. What did it do about the office of Governor? (180)
4. What did it do as to all other offices? (180)
5. What powers did it assume? (180)
6. On what ground have these acts usually been excused? (180)
7. Describe the battle of Lexington? (181)
8. Where did the remnant of the Legislature convene? (182)
9. What is said of it? (182)
10. Did Missouri secede? (182) Why not? (182)
11. What were the troops now called? (182)
12. What became of Jackson? (182)
13. What about Reynolds? (182)

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM 1862 TO 1864.

183. Order No. 24.—The war had produced local disturbances in nearly every county in the State, and in some localities neither life nor property was safe. But in St. Louis everything was orderly and the Union forces there were in full control. For this reason many avowed supporters of the Union cause had taken refuge in the city. General Halleck of the Union army, on December 12th, issued "Order No. 24," making assessments on certain wealthy citizens of the city, who favored the cause of Governor Jackson or of the Confederacy, by which they were required to contribute money for the support of these refugees. Some of these citizens refused to pay the assessments and their property was seized by force. Samuel Engler, a prominent merchant, did not approve of this summary way of taking away his property, and attempted to recover it by suit in the court. For so doing he and his lawyer were arrested and lodged in a military prison. After this the assessments were generally paid. This method of raising funds was repeated during the next few years by the various little commands stationed at different points in the State and great sums of money were thus obtained.

184. Battle of Pea Ridge.—General Halleck had wintered a large part of his army in and around Lebanon, Laclede County, while General Price remained around Springfield. On February 11, 1862, this part of the army, under command of General Curtis, moved out upon Price, who fell back towards Cassville, then across the State line into Arkansas, where he was joined by General McCulloch and General Albert Pike with a large number of Indians and white troops from Indian Territory. These, added to Price's eight thou-

sand Missourians, made an army of nearly twenty thousand men, and the whole was placed under the command of General Van Dorn, a daring officer. Curtis, with perhaps a less number of troops, followed Price at some distance and encamped near Pea Ridge, a little place only a few miles over the line in Arkansas and about thirty miles from Cassville. Here, early in the morning of March 6, 1862, he was vigorously attacked by Van Dorn, and a bloody battle followed, which was skillfully and desperately fought on both sides. It lasted for three days, with everchanging fortunes to the opposing forces. At one time it seemed that the Union cause would win, then the opposition, then again the Union. On the third day victory perched on the Federal banner, and the Confederates retreated. The Union loss was one thousand three hundred and fifty-one killed, wounded and missing. The Confederate loss was about the same. General McCulloch was killed, so was General W. Y. Slack of Missouri, and General Price was wounded in the arm.

185. Price Joins the Confederacy.—One month after the battle of Pea Ridge General Price published an order in which he bade farewell to the State Guard. Shortly afterward he was transferred to the east side of the Mississippi with about five thousand State troops, who had followed him into the Confederacy, and from this time on they were known as Confederate troops. They were from time to time joined by other Missourians, but it is not likely that the number ever exceeded ten thousand men. Of their subsequent career it is not proper here to speak. Suffice it to say that this band of men fought on till the ninth of April, 1865, and on that day, the very one on which Lee surrendered, their number now reduced to four hundred, they fired their last gun at Fort Blakely on the Gulf of Mexico.

186. State Militia.—The State Convention, which held its third session in October, 1861, had also passed a Military Bill, not greatly unlike the Military Bill passed by the General

Assembly in May, which had been urged by Lyon and the Convention as one cause for attacking Camp Jackson. This bill provided for the organization of the supporters of the Convention and the Union cause throughout the State, under the name of the "Missouri State Militia." Companies of these were enlisted in nearly every county, and among the prominent officers thereof, who were then or have since been prominent citizens of the State, were Colonel John F. Philips of Pettis, Colonel T. T. Crittenden of Johnson, Major A. W. Mullins of Linn, Colonel John F. Williams of Macon, and General Odon Guitar of Boone.

187. Missourians in Opposing Companies.—Early in April General Halleck set out for Corinth, Mississippi, and left General Schofield in command in Missouri. Governor Gamble appointed him Brigadier-General of Missouri State Militia, with power to call as much of it into active service as might be required to put down all marauders. Confederate companies for opposing these were also organized, and as a result most of the battles and skirmishes thereafter took place between these opposing companies of Missouri citizens. There were many of them, but they were mostly small skirmishes, and to properly describe them would require a large volume. They engendered much strife among the people, disturbed all kinds of business, broke up churches and the schools, and drove many peaceably inclined or defenseless persons from the State, and others were ruthlessly shot down and robbed.

188. The Sacking of Lawrence.—That a rank growth of general freebooting should have sprung up along the border in both Missouri and Kansas was to be expected from the lawless state of affairs which has been recounted under the head of "Kansas Troubles." The war opened a wider field for spoliation. Early in the struggle appeared a band of "jayhawkers," known as "Red Legs," because they wore red morocco leggings. The band was originally devoted to horse

stealing, but became flexible enough to include rascals of every kind. At intervals the band would dash into Missouri, seize horses and cattle, commit other and worse outrages, then return with their booty to Lawrence and sell it at public auction. They did not hesitate to shoot people who objected to their acts or inquired into their doings. Mr. Spring, an honorable Kansas historian, says: "The gang contained men of the most desperate and hardened character, and a full recital of their deeds would sound like a biography of devils." The people of Lawrence could not drive them out or put a stop to their maraudings, and so their course of robbery, rapine and murder went on. The depredations of these men, the campaign of Lane into Missouri some time before, and the troubles dating back to 1854, led to the awful destruction of Lawrence on August 21, 1863. Quantrill, who led the raid, once lived in Lawrence—"a dull, sullen, uninteresting knave"—and, just as the war began, fled from the town to Missouri to escape arrest for crime. He now returned at the head of a band of Missouri bushrangers. They rode quietly into Kansas, traveled forty miles the night before the massacre and reached Lawrence at daybreak, one hundred and seventy-five strong. Armed with revolvers, they were commanded to "kill every man and burn every house." With a wild cry, like that of savage Indians, they dashed through the sleeping and defenseless town, killing men indiscriminately, but especially butchering all Red Legs to be found. In the meantime they shouted: "We are here for revenge, and we have got it!" Stores, banks, hotels and dwellings they robbed and then set them on fire, and of the dead one hundred and eighty-three were counted; and from this sickening scene—the town in flames, the principal streets lined with corpses, many of them charred and blackened—the guerrillas galloped away, easily evading Major (late Senator) Plumb with two hundred and fifty Union troops, whom they passed on the way, and escaped. "Order No. 11" was four days later

issued for the purpose of taking reprisals for this raid on Lawrence and making it impossible for such men to live in border counties.

189. Order No. 11.—On August 25, 1863, General Thomas Ewing, of the Eleventh Kansas Infantry Volunteers, issued from his headquarters at Kansas City an order which has become famous as "Order No. 11," and which shows the biting misery the people then had to endure on account of the fratricidal war which was being carried on, not by great generals and brave soldiers in open and honorable battle, but by roving bands of guerrillas of both armies, whose purpose was to murder, rob and despoil, almost as much as to maintain the authority of the Union or establish the authority of the Confederacy. Order No. 11 commanded all persons then living in the counties of Cass, Jackson and Bates, except those living in the principal towns, to remove from their places of abode within fifteen days. All persons who could show to the nearest military commander that they were loyal citizens were permitted to move to the military stations or to Kansas. All other persons were to move entirely out of these counties. Their grain and hay were to be taken to the nearest military station, where the owners were granted certificates showing their value, and all produce not so delivered was to be destroyed. The military commanders were directed to see this order was promptly obeyed, and they did so with dire earnestness. The whole district soon presented a scene of desolation rarely equaled. Cass was almost wholly depopulated. Of its ten thousand inhabitants only about six hundred remained in the county, and these were gathered at the military stations of Harrisonville and Pleasant Hill. There was also an immense destruction of property. Immediately after the close of the war it was estimated that at least one-third of the houses had been burned and one-half of the farms laid waste. In Bates results were still worse. Within fifteen days nearly every inhabitant had crossed its

border, and for three years its history was a blank. During these years the prairie fires swept over the land, adding to the desolation, and when, in 1866, the older inhabitants returned, not a vestige of their old homes was left save the blackened chimneys rising above the rank weeds. For these reasons these counties were, for a score of years, known as "The Burnt District." A member of General Ewing's staff was Colonel George C. Bingham, who opposed the issuing of this order, and begged Ewing not to issue it. When Ewing persisted, he became defiant and told him if he did so he would make him "infamous." Being one of the finest artists in the State, after the war closed he painted "Order No. 11." The painting became very celebrated, was copied, and can to this day be found in some Missouri homes. But as soil can not be destroyed, after the unhappy conflict had closed, many old soldiers from each army settled in these counties, and today they are among the most prosperous in the State.

190. Price's Raid.—General Price, since the battle of Pea Ridge, had been in Arkansas and the South. Early in September, 1864, he started upon a bold dash through the State, which has been known as "Price's Raid." He entered southeastern Missouri with a large force. At Pilot Knob he met General H. S. Ewing with twelve hundred men, who gallantly held his position for a time, then spiked his guns, blew up his magazine, and retreated to Rolla to join his forces with General McNeil's. His loss had been about ten men, while Price's had been several times that number. In fact, he had thwarted Price's intention of advancing upon and seizing St. Louis before sufficient forces could be concentrated there to defend it. His stubborn opposition demoralized Price's plans of advancement, and delayed him for several days, and during that time about twenty thousand troops from Illinois and nearby points in Missouri poured into the city, and Price saw the coveted prize had passed beyond his reach. He accordingly marched northwest into Franklin

County, leaving St. Louis far to his right. The Union forces from every part of the State were now concentrated at Jefferson City to defend the capital, and the whole was in command of General Brown, ably reinforced by General Clinton B. Fisk, from north of the river, and General McNeil, from Rolla. Price moved rapidly in that direction, burning the bridges behind him so as to impede pursuit. On October 5th he met the outposts of the Union army at the Osage River, under command of Major A. W. Mullins and Colonel John F. Philips. They gradually fell back with slight skirmishing as he approached. Price soon found the capital well intrenched, and a large army prepared to resist any attack. He therefore moved onward towards Boonville and Lexington, hotly pursued by General A. J. Smith. Soon a very heavy Union force, under command of General Pleasanton, was in pursuit of Price, whose army was now being rapidly increased by recruits. In Saline County he sent General Jo. Shelby and General John B. Clark, Jr., to attack Glasgow, on the opposite side of the river in Howard County, which they easily captured. At Little Blue Creek, in Jackson County, he encountered General Curtis, in command of Kansas troops, and a sharp contest for a few hours was waged, when Curtis fell back. But on the 21st his forces were defeated at Independence by Pleasanton, with a loss of three or four hundred men in killed and wounded. For the next two days there was almost constant fighting south of Westport, along Brush Creek, and even as far east as the Big Blue. Part of the time forty or fifty pieces of artillery were in action at once. Price was being slowly driven south by the combined forces of Generals Pleasanton, Curtis, Rosecrans and A. J. Smith, but constantly protected by General Marmaduke and General Shelby's cavalry. Just north of Little Osage River, while trying to throw back these combined forces that were pressing in on Price's army, General Marmaduke and five or six hundred of his men were captured, in a dashing onrush led by Colonel

Philips's brigade. Then Price, with Shelby's cavalry leading, turned with desperate fury upon the Union forces concentrating upon him from north, east and west, and for hours the battle rolled over the wide unfenced prairies. With bewildering rapidity the opposing forces careered hither and thither and fought far into the night. By repeated attacks Price held his lines intact until his army and long wagon-train were safely across and beyond Marmaton Creek in Vernon County. Then both armies rested. The next morning, about two o'clock, Price took up his retreat, and the Union armies abandoned the pursuit. Price had been disappointed in the small number of recruits he had gathered. The number had not been over six thousand and the raid had accomplished nothing, and so he hastily retreated to Arkansas, his troops on the way undergoing the greatest hardships for lack of food and water. He entered the State no more till the war was ended. But during the raid he had marched 1434 miles, and engaged in forty-three small battles and skirmishes.

191. Other Engagements.—The war was now over. But it would be a mistake to suppose because Price was outside the State during the greater part of the war that therefore there were peace and order. The important battles have been mentioned, but this was not all the war nor the greater part of it. According to the official records, between the time of the capture of the Government arsenal at Liberty, on April 20, 1861, and the twentieth of November, 1862—a period of nineteen months—over three hundred battles and skirmishes had been fought within the State. During the next two years it is estimated there were one hundred and fifty more, but they were relatively more destructive of life. So here is a total of four hundred and fifty small battles and skirmishes for the entire war, an average of four for every county in the State. North of the river these engagements were mostly between the State Militia or Enrolled Militia, and regularly enlisted Confederates who were attempting to make

their way south to join the Confederate army. It was to prevent them in this attempt that these skirmishes were fought. But, nevertheless, many of them "went south," as it was then described, and fought on till peace was established. Most of them went after the battle of Pea Ridge, from which time the State was practically under the control of the Union authorities, and no Confederate army of any consequence was in the State till the time of Price's raid, nearly two years and a half afterwards.

192. The Number of Soldiers.—But the number of these men that "went south" was not as large by far as is usually supposed. The entire number that enlisted during the last three years of the war was less than twenty thousand. Add to these the ten thousand who had joined Price east of the Mississippi, and ten thousand for those who either returned home after the battle of Pea Ridge, or had prior to that time served as State Guards, and the number is swelled to the grand total of forty thousand men, which will include all the soldiers that Missouri furnished to Jackson and the Confederate service. But the number of Union enlistments reached the magnificent array of 109,111 men, which was thirty-three thousand more than the number furnished by Iowa, eighty-nine thousand more than by Kansas, and three-fourths as many as by Massachusetts, and is an undeniable answer to all assertions that Missouri was ever disloyal to the Union. Of these 109,111, eight thousand were negroes who had formerly been slaves. The Provisional Government, of which Governor Gamble was the head, had been so successful in managing the affairs of the State that it established order over a great part of it, and answered every call made by the national authorities upon Missouri for men, without a draft and with a small expenditure of money. The number of Union soldiers was forty-seven per cent of the entire number of men of military age, and the number furnished both armies was sixty-four per cent of those subject to military duty. These

figures become more instructive when it is remembered that in 1860 Mr. Lincoln obtained only ten per cent of the State's vote.

193. Hamilton R. Gamble.—Governor Gamble having died on January 31, 1864, Lieutenant-Governor Willard P. Hall became Governor, and acted as such until January, 1865. Hamilton R. Gamble was born in Virginia, in 1793, and was of Irish descent. He was educated at Hampden-Sidney College. Before he was of age he was admitted to the bar in three States. In 1818 he moved to Franklin, Howard County, and was shortly afterward appointed prosecuting attorney. In 1824 Governor Bates appointed him Secretary of State, which required him to move to St. Charles, the then capital. Soon afterward, on the death of Bates, he settled in St. Louis and made that his home till his death. After he took up his home there he soon established a reputation as a great lawyer, and from that time on was connected with almost every important suit pending in the St. Louis courts—followed them to the Supreme Court of the United States, argued them in person and obtained a high reputation as a jurist. In 1846 he was a member of the Legislature. In 1852 he became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and served for three years, being at the time a Whig. When the important question of secession was submitted to the people, he earnestly and ably espoused the cause of the Union, and was elected without opposition to the Convention which was to decide Missouri's course during the war, and was made chairman of the Com-



Hamilton R. Gamble.

mittee on Federal Relations, and wrote the report against secession which was adopted. When Claiborne Jackson was deposed as Governor, he was elected to the office of Provisional Governor by the Convention. He assumed the duties of Governor August 1st, 1861, and exercised them till his death. He was chosen for only one year, but by a vote of the Convention, in June, 1862, he was to continue in office till after the election in November, 1864. As Governor he had been vested with great powers by the Convention, but he exercised them with a steadfast purpose to restore peace.

Questions on Chapter XVII.

1. What was order No. 24? (183)
2. How did Engler try to escape it? (183)
3. Did any one except Halleck try this method of raising money? (183)
4. Describe the battle of Pea Ridge. (184)
5. What did Price now do? (185)
6. How many men followed him? (185)
7. What is said of the State militia? (186)
8. Mention some of the prominent officers. (186)
9. What is said of Missourians in opposing companies? (187)
10. What is said about the Red Legs? (188)
11. What is said of Quantrill? (188)
12. And of the sacking of Lawrence? (188)
13. What counter movement did General Ewing make? (189)
14. What was order No. 11? (189)
15. What were its effects? (189)
16. What is said of Bingham and his picture? (189)
17. Describe Price's raid. (190)
18. What was accomplished by it? (190)
19. What is said of the number of engagements? (191)
20. How many Missourians in the State Guard and in the Confederacy? (192)
21. How do you arrive at this? (192)
22. How many on the Union side? (192)
23. What percentage of the population? (192)
24. Give sketch of life of Gamble. (193)

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR FLETCHER.

194. Thomas C. Fletcher became Governor January 2, 1865, and served till 1869. He was the first Republican, the first native-born, and the youngest Governor of Missouri up to that time. He received 71,531 votes, and his Democratic opponent, Thomas L. Price, of Jefferson City, received 30,406. He was born in Jefferson County, January 22nd, 1827, and in early life received a limited education. This defect he remedied by hard and persistent study while serving as deputy clerk of the courts of his county. Afterwards he was elected clerk of these courts, and in 1856 was admitted to the bar. In 1860 he advocated the election of Mr. Lincoln, and soon afterwards warmly indorsed the course of Lyon and Blair. He recruited the Thirty-first Missouri Regiment of Infantry and was made its colonel; took part in the battle of Pilot Knob, was wounded and captured, and in 1864 was nominated for Governor and elected.



Thomas C. Fletcher.

195. The Constitution of 1865.—The General Assembly had submitted to the people, at the election in 1864, a proposition for a Convention to amend the Constitution. It was voted to have the Convention by a majority of twenty-nine thousand, and sixty-six delegates were elected thereto.

It met in the Mercantile Library Hall in St. Louis, in January, 1865, and elected Arnold Krekel, president, and Charles Drake, vice-president. It in time framed a Constitution which never had a parallel in America for its rigid severity. It became known in history as the "Drake Constitution," because Charles D. Drake was the leading spirit in the Convention, and from this fact and its extreme severity, has been called the "Draconian Code," in comparison to the laws of Draco of Greece, which affixed the penalty of death to petty thefts and murder alike, Draco justifying this by saying small offenses deserved death, and he knew no greater punishment for worse ones.

196. Manumission Day.—The Convention, on January 11, 1865, passed an ordinance which declared that "hereafter in this State there shall neither be slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free." This ordinance received an overwhelming majority on final passage, sixty delegates voting for it and only four against it. The Convention refused to submit this ordinance to the people by a vote of forty-four to four, and Governor Fletcher the next day issued his proclamation that "henceforth and forever no person shall be subject to any abridgment of liberty, except such as the law shall prescribe for the common good, or know any master but God." An effort was also made in the Convention to "pay loyal owners for their slaves," but this, too, failed by a vote of forty-four to four. This ordinance was passed January 11, 1865, and for that reason this day has since been known as Manumission Day. But for a number of years there had practically been no slavery in Missouri, the slave owners making little or no efforts to restrain their slaves. There had been 114,031 of them in 1860, and before the war ended many thousands had either gone off to other States or enlisted in the army.

197. The Test Oath.—The action of the Convention in passing the Manumission Act was not objected to by the people, although the Convention had no authority to declare it to be in force until it had been either adopted by two successive legislatures or approved by the votes of the people. However, had the Convention stopped at this, no one would have thought of calling its declarations the "Draconian Code." But it went further and prescribed a "test oath," which prevented at least one-third of the people from voting till 1872, and almost as many more would have been disfranchised had they sworn strictly to the truth when they came to take that oath. This test oath declared that no person should vote or hold any kind of office who had "ever" engaged in hostilities, or given aid, comfort, countenance or support to persons engaged in hostilities, against the Government of the United States; or had given money, goods, letters, or information to its enemies, or by act or word manifested his adherence to the cause of such enemies, or his sympathy with those engaged in carrying on rebellion; or had ever been in anywise connected with any society unfriendly to such Government; or had ever knowingly harbored, aided or countenanced any person engaged in guerrilla warfare; or had ever done any act to prevent being enrolled in the military service of the Union or the State. Any person who had done any of these things, or any other thing like them, could not vote, teach in any public or private school, practice law, preach the gospel, "or be competent as a minister of any religious denomination, to preach, teach, or solemnize marriage, unless such person shall have first taken said oath." It did not only require allegiance and loyalty to the Union from that time on, which would have been a just and wise provision, but it applied to all men who had ever borne arms against the United States, or had sympathized at any time with those who did take up arms, or had done them acts of common kindness, or had refused to bear arms for the national Govern-

ment. All citizens attempting to teach or preach without taking this oath were to be fined not less than five hundred dollars, or committed to prison not less than six months, or both; and if they falsely took it, they were to be tried for perjury and punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary.

198. A Retroactive Law.—An effort was made in the Convention to change the words “has ever” been guilty of the things recited as offenses in the oath, to “who has since December 17, 1861,” been guilty of them. This was done for a very just reason. On August 3, 1861, Governor Gamble issued a proclamation in which he promised that all citizens in arms who would return to their homes, and become peaceable and loyal, should not be molested. This proclamation was indorsed by President Lincoln, who promised to such persons the protection of the national Government. Besides, the Convention of 1861 had, in October of that year, promised that all persons who would obey the proclamation and take an oath of allegiance to the Government before December 17, 1861, should not be punished “for offenses previously committed.” Many citizens in the State had thereupon taken such an oath of allegiance. Others had returned from Jackson’s support and become loyal citizens. It was but just that good faith should be kept with these men, and that the “test oath” should not be made to apply to them. But the Convention thought otherwise. The iron-clad oath was made to apply alike to all time, past and future.

199. Ousting the Officers.—The Convention, on March 17, 1865, passed an ordinance vacating the offices of the judges of the Supreme Court and all of the circuit courts and all the county offices. The ordinance was to take effect May 1st, and was never submitted to the people. It gave the Governor the power to fill all these offices by appointment. Many of the terms of the officers, all of whom had been elected by the people, had not expired, notably those of the Supreme Court judges. They had been elected for a term of six years,

and had served not more than fifteen months. The reason assigned for this wholesale removal was that only loyal men should be in office. This was delusive, for Governor Hall, in his last message on the twenty-ninth of December previous, had announced that "all of the civil offices of the State are filled with men of avowed loyalty." The real reason was to get rid of the Supreme Court judges. They were not radicals. As the war had progressed the radical element in the Republican party gained in numbers, and conservative men felt compelled to withstand their extreme conduct. The conservatives became known as "Claybanks" and the radicals as "Charcoals." The radicals were in complete control of the Convention, and the judges were conservatives—they could not therefore be trusted to uphold the high-handed things done by the Convention. But there were great obstacles in the way of their removal. By the old Constitution, which was the supreme law until replaced by a new one, they could be removed only by the Legislature, which would not meet till January. By that time the Supreme Court might set aside the test oath and other portions of the Drake Constitution. That method was too slow. The power of removal had not been granted to the Convention when the people elected their delegates. It could be assumed only in violation of the old Constitution, which had been in effect since 1820. It was assumed, and with one fell sweep the offices of all judges and all county offices were vacated.

200. Defeat Forestalled.—The Convention agreed to submit their Constitution to the people for indorsement. But to make sure that it would not be rejected, they also passed an "ordinance" declaring that no one should vote for or against it who would not first take the test oath. In order to be sure that none took the oath falsely, a system of registration of voters was provided for. The registering officer was given the power to pass upon the qualifications of all persons to vote, and if he deemed any of them could not truthfully

take this oath, he refused to enter their names upon the poll books. Yet, after these extreme precautions, the Constitution was adopted by the people by a majority of only about 1800 out of a total vote of 85,000, which was 55,000 less votes than were cast for and against having the Convention the previous November. The election was held June 6, 1865.

201. Enforcing the Ousting Ordinance.—The American people have always been quick to resent any interference by a legislative body with the judiciary, especially when it partakes of partisan politics. This "ousting ordinance" was no exception to the rule. It gave great offense to a large number of persons, and assisted in driving them to the side of the reactionary current of feeling then rapidly setting in. The enforcement of the law against the Supreme Judges was resisted by two of the judges, W. V. N. Bay and J. D. S. Dryden. Judge Bates had resigned. Soon after the ordinance was passed Governor Fletcher appointed David Wagner, Nathaniel Holmes and W. L. Lovelace Supreme Judges. Judges Bay and Dryden declared the law without proper authority and refused to vacate. Governor Fletcher, therefore, directed the police of St. Louis, where the court was in session, to arrest them and forcibly eject them from the court building. This was done, and they were taken before a criminal court of the city for disturbing the peace, and never afterwards attempted to resume their offices.

202. The Results of the Draconian Code.—A most violent proscription followed the enforcement of this "test oath." "Tens of thousands of old and honored citizens, men of education and influence, who had taken no part in the war, were denied the right to vote, and that, too, on the adoption of an organic law which was to govern them and their children after them." But, hard as this was, it is not to be compared to the further penalty of the law which forbade them to preach, teach, practice law or follow other simple employments. Their only remaining rights seemed to be, as they

were plainly told, "to pay taxes, work the roads and hold their peace." In St. Louis, Francis Preston Blair, who had done more than any other man to keep Missouri in the Union, was denied the privilege of voting because he refused to take the test oath. He filed an oath that he had been loyal ever since the adoption of the Constitution, and he would full and true allegiance bear to the State and National governments thereafter; but claimed the judges of election had no right to inquire into his conduct prior to the time the Constitution was adopted. He brought suit in the Supreme Court to compel the election officers to receive his ballot. It decided against him.

The Missouri Baptists at their annual state meeting, fifty delegates being present, agreed to decline to take the oath, even if they had to give up preaching to do so. They declared it interfered with religious liberty, with freedom of the worship of God and was contrary to the Federal Constitution. The Catholic archbishop informed the clergy they could not take the oath without a surrender of religious liberty. Some men, who believed the dictates of conscience more binding upon them than this "code," undertook to preach the Gospel anyhow. For doing so they were indicted as criminals. Fourteen ministers were indicted at Palmyra at a single session of the circuit court. At other places men were indicted 104 times a year for no greater crime than preaching the glad message of salvation; a much greater number were indicted a less number of times; a few were consigned to the common jail. These were not bad and quarrelsome men, but as good, able and peaceable as could be found in the State, and clergymen of both Protestant and Catholic churches. In Cape Girardeau County three sisters of charity were dragged into court and tried for teaching without having taken this iron-clad oath, but the jury refused to convict them. At Louisiana, the Rev. J. A. Cummings, a priest in the Catholic church, was convicted in the circuit court.

His crime was teaching and preaching without having taken the oath referred to. There was no evidence that Mr. Cummings had been guilty of any act of disloyalty, or that he had at any time a disloyal thought or sympathy. He was not so charged. He was charged only with preaching and teaching without having taken the oath, which had he taken falsely, however loyal he was then and thereafter, would have made him liable to imprisonment in the penitentiary. He was convicted, sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred dollars and to be committed to jail till the fine and costs were paid. He appealed his case to the Supreme Court of the State. It decided against him. Then he appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and it set the test oath aside as contrary to the nation's Constitution. That court declared it to be an *ex post facto* law. It said no State was permitted to enact a law which punished men for offenses committed before the law was passed. After that decision, indictments ceased for preaching the Gospel and practicing law and pursuing other employments. These indictments had in but few cases been followed by fine and imprisonment. Final action had been taken in but very few of them, the courts in most cases delaying trial in the matter till the national Supreme Court should decide the Cummings case. When that decision was made in favor of the preachers, teachers and lawyers, the indictments were never again called up in court, and never again heard of.

203. Registration Act.—The Supreme Court of the United States had, by its decision in the case of J. A. Cummings and in that of Francis P. Blair, set aside all that part of the test oath which disfranchised so many men. Since then some of the strongest Union men in the State had set themselves against it, including such prominent citizens as Francis P. Blair, John S. Phelps, B. Gratz Brown, Carl Schurz, Samuel T. Glover, John F. Philips, James O. Broadhead and Willard P. Hall. The movement had gained great

momentum, but still its opponents had a majority in the Legislature. At the session of 1868 it was therefore determined to again make an attempt at general proscription. A very stringent registration law was passed. It gave the Governor power to appoint superintendents of registration in each senatorial district, who in turn appointed three registrars in each county. These four officers were authorized to make a list of all the legal voters in the county. They were forbidden to enroll any person who would not take an oath of loyalty, and besides were given the power to refuse to enroll any others than those they chose. In many counties they chose to refuse half of the citizens. In some cases wealthy candidates for office influenced the registrars to enroll their followers, and to decline to enroll their opponents. No one was allowed to vote whose name was not enrolled by these registrars. This law, perhaps, disfranchised more voters than the original "test oath." It was made a principal issue in the campaign of 1868, and the canvass was attended with bitterness and often violence.

204. The Election of 1868.—The Republican candidate for Governor was Joseph W. McClurg of Camden County. The Democratic candidate was John S. Phelps of Springfield. McClurg's majority was 19,000, and the whole vote cast was 145,000. E. O. Stanard, of St. Louis, was elected Lieutenant-Governor.

Questions on Chapter XVIII.

1. What is said of Thomas C. Fletcher? (194)
2. What proposition did the Legislature submit to the people at the election of 1864? (195)
3. When did this convention meet and who was its president? (195)
4. What is said of the constitution it framed? (195)
5. What action did this Convention take toward manumitting slaves? (196)
6. What did it avail? (196)
7. How was it received by the people? (197)
8. To what persons did the test oath deny the ballot? (197)

9. What else did it deny them? (197)
10. What penalties did it prescribe? (197)
11. To what time was it attempted to limit its proscriptions? (198)
12. Why was this done? (198)
13. How had the President indorsed this proclamation? (198)
14. Who else indorsed it, and how? (198)
15. What about a State that violates its promises? (198)
16. What action did the Convention take toward ousting officers? (199)
17. On what grounds? (199)
18. What had Governor Hall to say about this? (199)
19. What was the real reason for ousting the officers? (199)
20. How did the Convention forestall defeat? (200)
21. What was the result of the election? (200)
22. How was the ousting ordinance enforced? (201)
23. Mention some results of the Drake Constitution. (202)
24. How was Frank Blair treated? (202)
25. What course did he pursue? (202)
26. What course did the Missouri Baptists pursue? (202)
27. What did the Catholic archbishop do? (202)
28. How about the indictment of preachers? (202)
29. Recite the details in the trial of J. A. Cummings. (202)
30. How did the U. S. Supreme Court regard this law? (202)
31. What prominent men led the opposition to the test oath? (203)
32. How did its friends determine upon neutralizing the U. S. Court's decision? (203)
33. What is said of the Registration Act? (203)
34. How did the election of 1868 result? (204)

CHAPTER XIX.

McCLURG'S ADMINISTRATION.

205. **Joseph W. McClurg** was born in St. Louis County, February 22, 1818, and was educated at Oxford, Ohio. He taught school in Ohio and Louisiana, and was deputy sheriff in St. Louis before he was twenty-one. Two years later he was licensed to practice law, but soon afterwards engaged in merchandizing in Camden County. When the war came on he took positive and enthusiastic grounds for the Union. He entered Congress as a Republican in 1862 and served till Janu-

ary, 1869, when he resigned to become Governor of Missouri. He was again a candidate in 1870, but was defeated.

206. Suffrage for Slaves.—The Legislature had in 1867 agreed by a large majority to submit to the people an amendment to the Constitution granting to former slaves and their descendants the privilege of voting. The amendment was voted on at the election in November, 1868, and was defeated by nearly nineteen thousand majority. But on January 7, 1870, the question again came before the Legislature in the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which the Legislature adopted by about a two-thirds vote of both houses, and as the President soon afterwards proclaimed that the legislatures of three-fourths of the States had adopted the amendment, these people were thus given the privilege of voting. This was before the ballot had been restored to those who were disfranchised by the Drake Constitution and the registration act.

207. Repeal of Proscriptive Tests.—The same Legislature, however, agreed to submit to the voters an amendment to the Constitution abolishing the test oath and restoring the ballot to former Confederates, Southern sympathizers and all other male citizens, and relieving them of other proscriptive penalties. This was voted on in November, 1870. A very warm and earnest campaign preceded the vote. The Republican party disagreed in regard to what should be done with the great number of disfranchised citizens. Many were in favor of postponing the giving of the ballot to these men. These were called "Radical Republicans." But an equal number believed in entire removal of all political disabilities at once. They were called "Liberal Republicans." The Republicans met in convention in Jefferson City in August, 1870, and voted to adhere to the Radical Republican doctrine, by a vote of 349 to 342, and nominated Joseph W. McClurg, the then Governor, for re-election. The Liberal Republicans, under the lead of Carl Schurz, withdrew from

the convention, adopted a platform for immediate re-enfranchisement, and nominated B. Gratz Brown for Governor. The Democrats declined to nominate State officers, but supported the Liberal Republican ticket. Mr. Brown was elected by forty-one thousand majority, and the people voted to repeal the proscriptive tests by a majority of one hundred and eleven thousand, there being only about sixteen thousand votes against the proposition. The Liberal Republicans and Democrats had also obtained a majority in both houses of the Legislature, and they went to work at once to repeal all obnoxious laws, and restore to every man equality before the laws, and remove all political disabilities from all. As a result, at the election in 1872 the vote was 112,276 greater than it was in 1870, an increase of sixty-seven per cent in two years. By this fact we can arrive at an estimate of the number disfranchised. Of this increase it is not proper to count the negro vote, because the Fifteenth amendment to the national Constitution, bestowing on negroes the right to vote, became a law of the nation prior to the election of 1870. It is possible, however, that twenty-five per cent of the increase, or twenty-eight thousand, were immigrants and young men now for the first time old enough to vote. This would leave eighty-four thousand men who had been disfranchised by the sweeping proscription of the Drake Constitution—more than twice as many as ever took up arms as State Guards or Confederate troops.

208. Peace.—The restoration to citizenship was wise and just. Whatsoever good reason there might have been for denying to so many citizens the right to vote and follow their chosen employments in 1865, it could not be urged that the conduct of these men had been such as to make it unsafe to trust them with full and equal citizenship within a few years after the war had closed. Their conduct was as peaceable and orderly as that of any class of men in the State. Not even did the preachers, teachers and lawyers, after the United

States Supreme Court had restored to them the privilege of following their chosen pursuits, make harsh or disloyal assertions in public. Political subjects were rarely spoken of in the pulpit or school. The great mass of these men had quietly returned to their homes, controlled by a desire for peace and to submit in good faith to the authority of the Union. They had gone diligently to work at whatever employment was open to them, to regaining their lost fortunes, rebuilding their burnt houses, and re-establishing themselves in the land whose fruits they had enjoyed before the war. Nothing is to be feared from such men, and now that the duty was upon them again to maintain the Union they loyally and sincerely undertook to do so.

Questions on Chapter XIX.

1. Give sketch of the life of Joseph McClurg. (205)
2. How did the people vote on the question of giving the ballot to former slaves and their descendants? (206)
3. But what course did the Legislature pursue? (206)
4. Describe the split in the Republican party. (207)
5. What was the result of the election? (207)
6. What majority did Brown secure? (207)
7. What was the majority for removing proscriptive tests? (207)
8. What was the increase of the vote two years later? (207)
9. What do these figures show? (207)
10. What about the restoration of citizenship to all? (208)
11. How did the preachers, lawyers, teachers and other disfranchised persons behave? (208)

CHAPTER XX.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR BROWN.

209. Benjamin Gratz Brown, the twentieth Governor, served from January, 1871, to 1873. He was born at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1826, and was



B. Gratz Brown.

a descendant of much-honored families of Virginia and Kentucky. He received the best of schooling in his native State and graduated at Yale College at the age of twenty-one. He came to Missouri in 1849, settled in St. Louis, and began the practice of law, but abandoned it in a year or two. In 1852 he was elected to the Legislature and was re-elected in 1854, both times as a "Free Soil" candidate. In 1854 he

became editor of the *Missouri Democrat*, and continued as such till the breaking out of the war, with great ability and reputation. Early in the war he raised a Union regiment, became its colonel, and bore himself as a gallant and brave officer in the campaign in southwest Missouri. In 1863 he was elected to the United States Senate by the radical emancipationists, and served till 1867. But the war over, he changed from a radical to a liberal, as did Blair, Glover, Schurz and many others. In 1866 he led the opposition to the test-oath proscription. In 1870 he was nominated for Governor by the Liberal Republicans, was elected and served two years. In 1872 he was nominated by the Liberal Republicans for Vice-President along with Horace Greeley for President, and was

defeated. Then he returned to St. Louis, resumed the practice of law and gained distinction at the bar. He was an excellent Governor, and did much to bring about peaceable and kind feelings between the discordant elements created by the war. He died in St. Louis, respected, honored and loved as a good and true man.

210. Peace and Prosperity.—As the people got away from the war and began to study the lessons it had taught, the better side of mankind again showed itself. A general desire for peace grew stronger and stronger. A purpose to restore order, to re-establish prosperity, to retrieve broken fortunes, was manifest everywhere. Many a noble estate had been swept away by the fell hand of cruel war. Many a rich plantation had been laid waste, many a comfortable farmhouse had been burnt, cattle and horses and all kinds of stock had been seized and driven from the land, confidence was destroyed, and deep feelings of resentment had laid hold on those formerly neighbors. But now that it was all over, that the cause was gone, these feelings gave way to higher and better and more manly ones, and the determination was sure and settled that the war should be over forever. Men began, in their cool and quiet labors, to see that they could honestly differ about even such a thing as war. This was followed by peace and mutual confidence, and now again the woodman's axe was heard in the forests, the plow was set deeper into the soil, and the grain ripened in the fields, was garnered and sold in the open market. A few malevolent spirits still sulked abroad, but the great body of the people—Union and Confederate soldier, Northerner, Southerner, foreigner and native alike—united in action and feeling in intellectual and moral upbuilding. While the war had lasted many of the schools were closed, till at one time there were only 1,200 open. By 1870 this number had increased to 5,000. Population had decreased from 1,182,000 in 1860 to about 900,000 in January, 1865. Now in 1870, it was 1,719,000, according to the

United States census, but in fact it was somewhat smaller. The taxable wealth had almost doubled within the four years prior to 1870. Tens of thousands of immigrants, mostly from the Atlantic States and from north of the Ohio, had come into Missouri and acquired homes. On every side the people were fast effacing all traces of the war.

211. Railroad Difficulties.—The Drake Constitution permitted counties to subscribe money in any amount to aid in building railroads. It authorized the county court to issue bonds binding the county for the payment of these subscriptions whenever two-thirds of the qualified voters of the county should assent thereto. But this provision requiring the assent of the voters proved to be a small obstacle in the way of county courts issuing bonds whenever they wished. The Supreme Court held that it did not apply to a railroad which before the Constitution went into effect had received from the Legislature a charter which did not require the voters' consent. Some county courts took advantage of that holding and issued bonds in large quantities. Besides, when the voters' consent was in form obtained it proved to be no consent in fact of those who must pay the taxes. In some cases the county courts were composed of dishonest or ignorant men, and the "qualified voters" were not the people who owned the property of the county, and who, therefore, would have to pay the taxes, for many of them had been disfranchised, but a class of men who were governed more by other motives than justice and patriotism. The elections often were merely formal, only a small per cent of the taxpayers being permitted to vote. Dishonest speculators, in a few instances, bribed the county court to issue the bonds without the people's knowledge or consent. Bonds to the amount of fifteen million dollars and over were issued by the various counties. But the roads were never built. Usually, work would be commenced on the roadbeds at various places along the proposed routes, and kept up with great vigor for a few weeks, and then reports would

come that the companies had become bankrupt, and work would cease. Only partial payments were ever made for the work done.

In the meantime the bonds were run off to New York and elsewhere, and, before they had matured, were sold to third parties, who paid little or no money for them, but afterwards claimed that they were innocent of any knowledge of the fraud practiced upon the taxpayers. As the courts had the power by law to issue the bonds, the United States Supreme Court held they must be paid. As a result, debts of several hundred thousand dollars were fastened upon Lafayette, Cass, Knox, St. Clair, Macon and other counties.

212. Resisting Payments.—Payment of these bonds was, in a few cases, made in full; in others, terms of compromise were agreed upon by which the bond-holders accepted fifty or sixty or eighty per cent of the face of the bonds as full payment; but in other cases, where the debts were enormous and the fraud glaring, payment was resisted. In Cass County popular resentment became violent, and at Gunn City on April 24, 1872, a large uprising of the people put to death three men concerned in issuing the bonds. Judge J. C. Stevenson, one of the county judges, and James C. Cline, county attorney, had been indicted for complicity in the fraudulent issuing of the bonds.

On this date they and Thomas Dutro, who was one of Cline's bondsmen, were on a train which was intercepted by about three hundred citizens of Cass County. They were mercilessly shot down, and the train greatly damaged by the infuriated



Francis Marion Cockrell.

people. Popular feeling in Cass and surrounding counties soon became intense. Governor Brown called out the militia, and sent General F. M. Cockrell and Colonel John F. Philips as special commissioners for the State to urge peace and order. These efforts were entirely successful. Attempts were afterwards made to punish the men who assisted in the killing, but no jury could be persuaded to convict them. Since that time the bond-holders have brought suit against these counties in the United States courts, which decided against the counties and instructed the county courts to levy taxes to pay these debts. But a new set of judges had, in the meantime, come into office; men who considered it unjust to pay bonds for roads that had never been built. They refused to levy taxes, and were, in some instances, sent to prison for contempt of Federal authority. But they would not order the levy, and, when they tired of the attempts to force them to do so, they would resign, and their successors pursued the same course. By this means the Federal courts were powerless to enforce payment, though various attempts were made for many years. But in all these counties except three or four these bonds have now been settled by compromise.

213. Other Railroad Debts.—There were other railroad debts, besides those thus fastened on the counties. As stated elsewhere, the State, in the eight or ten years following 1849, had granted aid to different companies to build railroads. The companies were not able to build them alone, and to help them the State issued its own bonds to the amount of about twenty-three million dollars, which were sold and the money used to build and equip the roads. To secure the State against loss the companies made mortgages on their railroads and also pledged to the State over a million acres of land which had been granted to them by Congress. The Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad Company paid its bonds, which amounted to about three million dollars. But default in the payment was made by the other companies, and along

about 1867 and 1868 the mortgages were foreclosed, and the Missouri Pacific, the Frisco, the Iron Mountain, the Wabash and other railroads were forfeited to the State, and then sold by the State. The entire debt at the time of the sale, including principal and interest, was over thirty-one million dollars, and the State realized from the various sales only a little over six millions, so that there remained a debt of twenty-five millions, which the State in subsequent years had to pay. It was hard to make the debt appear just; the railroads, largely built in times when prices were low, had been sold for much less than it had cost to build them, and for only about one-fourth of what most persons believed was their real value. But the debt was in the form of the original bonds which the State in former years had generously issued to aid in constructing them, and after the mortgages were foreclosed and the roads and lands sold this immense amount of State bonds remained unpaid, with no other property available by which the State could be reimbursed. Although the debt would have been far less if the railroads had been sold for what they were really worth, and there was general indignation that they had been sold at so small a price, there was no thought of repudiating the debt. The State assumed its obligations in full. The work of paying the interest annually and a part of the bonds each year went on steadily through thirty years, and by 1903 the entire debt had been paid.

214. The Election of 1872.—The Liberal Republican movement which began in 1870, and which subsequently spread over all the Union, continued. Efforts were made to reunite the two discordant factions of the Republican party, but they utterly failed. On August 21, 1872, the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats met in separate conventions in Jefferson City to nominate a joint ticket. A committee of conference was appointed from each convention, which soon agreed upon a fusion ticket. The various offices were divided up between the two parties according to their numerical

strength. The Democrats nominated the candidate for Governor, the four Supreme Judges, eight of the Presidential electors, Treasurer, Attorney-General and Auditor; the Liberals named the Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Register of Lands and seven Presidential Electors. Silas Woodson, of Buchanan County, was the nominee for Governor, and Charles P. Johnson, of St. Louis, for Lieutenant-Governor. The two conventions then came together into one, and indorsed the nominations as a whole. In September, the regular Republicans nominated John B. Henderson for Governor. At the election, Woodson's majority was 35,444, and the entire electoral vote of the State was cast for Greeley for President and Brown for Vice-President. At the time for the next election, in 1874, the Liberal Republican movement had disappeared, the vast majority of that party having become Democrats, but a few reunited with the regular Republicans.

Questions on Chapter XX.

1. Give a sketch of the life of B. Gratz Brown. (209)
2. What is said of him as Governor? (209)
3. What were some of the effects of the war? (210)
4. What now was the condition? (210)
5. What is said about schools and population? (210)
6. What railroad difficulties are described in section? (211)
7. What was done with these bonds? (211)
8. How were the debts settled in many cases? (212)
9. Describe the Gunn City tragedy. (212)
10. How was order restored? (212)
11. What about the actions of county judges in some of these counties? (212)
12. Describe other railroad debts. (213)
13. How much was the entire debt at one time, and what was it after the railroads and lands were sold? (213)
14. Did the State repudiate it? (213)
15. How long did it take to pay it? (213)
16. What is said of parties in 1872? (214)
17. Who were the candidates and who was elected? (214)
18. What became of the Liberal Republican movement? (214)

CHAPTER XXI.

GOVERNORS WOODSON AND HARDIN.

215. Silas Woodson was born in Kentucky in 1819. He was reared on a farm, attended the "log schoolhouse" in the neighborhood, and employed much of his time in reading and study. He was licensed to practice law at the age of twenty-one, and three years later was elected to the Legislature, and re-elected several times in the next twelve years. He also was circuit attorney for four years. In 1854 he came to Missouri and settled in St. Joseph, where he was soon recognized as a lawyer of marked ability. In 1860 he was elected circuit judge and served with acceptability through the stormy days of the war. He was elected chairman of the Democratic State Convention of 1872. He was not then a candidate for Governor. But there were six candidates. Three ballots were taken without any choice, and in the midst of the fourth the name of Woodson was proposed as a compromise candidate, and it was received with such enthusiasm that he was nominated almost unanimously. He was inaugurated January 8, 1873, and served two years. He filled other honorable positions after his term as Governor expired, and died in St. Joseph in 1896.

216. Business Depression.—During the term of Governor Woodson there was the greatest financial depression. The crisis was precipitated by the failure of Jay Cooke & Company of New York in the spring of 1873. The panic soon became general. Every State in the Union felt the bitings and gnawings of business failure. In Missouri, bank after bank closed its doors, and business was temporarily paralyzed. To add to the troubles there was a failure in crops, owing to a drought which set in in the summer of 1873 and lasted for eighteen months, with very little rain at any time.

The Governor, in his message of 1874, said: "Thousands who in days gone by have been able, without serious difficulty or great loss, to obtain money with which to pay debts or taxes, can not procure a dollar for any purpose except at the most ruinous sacrifices." He proposed to meet the difficulties, as far as possible, by cutting down expenditures in all offices, and so earnestly did he plead with the Legislature that it and subsequent sessions reduced state and county expenses nearly one-half in every branch of the government except that of public education.

217. The Grange.—The financial troubles of 1873 and 1874 were in part due to the natural collapse of the reckless speculation which seized upon the people at the close of the war, and of the high prices which that war had created, with the assistance of a very large amount of discredited paper money. But a very large part of the people did not accept this as the cause, and throughout the West there began to form farmers' societies which were called the Grange. Sometimes the order was called the Patrons of Husbandry, but it was better known by the former name. It spread rapidly throughout the West and soon had over a million members, with local societies in almost every neighborhood. Many of its members, and most of its leaders, were men of integrity, but its great membership was undoubtedly due to the financial troubles of 1873 and 1874. The order refused to admit lawyers, bankers, capitalists, and merchants as members. It was organized on the theory that nearly all financial troubles were due to bad legislation, and it proposed to unite all laborers, especially farmers, in an attempt to repeal all bad laws and make all necessary good ones. This, of course, had been the desire of all good citizens from the beginning of the nation, but thoughtful men soon concluded that the Grange acted upon the unfair theory that its members were entitled to favors in the making of laws which were to be denied to other persons. This led much of the press in the East, and even

in States where the organization was strongest, to oppose it, as teaching doctrines which would array one class of citizens against another. This opposition the Grange met by declaring the unfriendly press was dominated by the capitalists and corporations, and hence there began to be discordant relations between the order and the political parties.

218. Campaign of 1874.—At the election of 1874 the Democratic party nominated Charles H. Hardin, of Audrain County, for Governor, and Norman J. Colman for Lieutenant-Governor. The Republicans declined to make any nominations, but the Grange and that party united in what was called the People's Party, and nominated William Gentry, an extensive farmer of Pettis County, for Governor. The cry of the Granger members of the People's Party was "Reform," by which they meant retrenchment in governmental expenditures. But Governor Woodson and the Legislature had already forestalled them by passing the laws cutting down expenses, and hence few of the Democratic farmers saw any reason to leave their party on that account. Hardin was elected by a majority of 37,463, and the Democrats elected thirteen Representatives in Congress, the number to which the State was entitled. The part the Grange had taken in politics at this election caused much dissatisfaction among its members, and the order soon began to lose power, and in a year or two went down almost as fast as it had risen.

219. Charles H. Hardin was born in Kentucky in 1820, but came with his parents to Missouri when a mere infant. He was reared to manhood in Columbia, and enjoyed the advantages of good schools. He afterwards graduated with the degree of A. B. from Miami University, in Ohio. He returned to Missouri, studied law, located at Fulton, rapidly rose in his profession, and soon became known as a laborious, painstaking lawyer. In 1848 he became prosecuting attorney for the Third Judicial Circuit, which embraced several counties. In 1852, 1854 and 1858 he represented Callaway

County in the Legislature as a Whig, and in 1855 was one of the committee of three which revised all the statutes of the State and codified them in book form. In 1860 he was elected



Charles H. Hardin.

to the State Senate, and was the author of the resolution creating the convention to which was referred the question of secession. He attended the called meeting of the Legislature held at Neosho in October, 1861, and was the only Senator present who voted against secession. He remained unalterable in his allegiance to the Union during the war, but took no active part in the troubles of those times. In 1872 he was again elected to the Senate and maintained his former

reputation for laborious and conscientious work. In 1874 he was elected Governor, and his administration was one of the most honorable in the entire history of the State. In 1873 a college for the education of girls was projected at Mexico, at which place he had lived since 1861, and named Hardin College in his honor. From his munificent hand it had received many thousand dollars up to the time of his death in 1892.

220. Locusts.—In 1874 and in 1875 all the country west of Missouri, even to and beyond the Rocky Mountains, was plagued by a devouring insect. Governor Hardin, in his message, called them the Rocky Mountain locusts, but the people usually referred to them as Kansas grasshoppers. They were about two inches long and looked very much like the ordinary grasshopper that has always been seen in this State, except their legs were of a reddish color, and parts of their bodies, wings and head were more or less reddish also.

They came down from the mountains in 1874, filling and almost darkening the heavens by their great number. They quickly overran Colorado, then came on through Kansas, and late in the summer invaded Missouri. In Colorado and parts of Kansas they ate up every green thing, taking every live blade of grass and every leaf on tree and bush and flower and vegetable. They entered a few counties of Missouri, but in 1874 they came after most of the crops had matured, and hence did not that year do much damage here. They deposited their eggs, however, and as it became warm next year these hatched out in great numbers. The people fought them before they were able to fly, and thus greatly mitigated the pest. The most effective way was by digging ditches, putting in a few inches of straw, then driving the locusts into the ditch and burning the straw. Yet, in spite of all of these efforts, they overran several counties along the western border of the State. The first months of 1875 were dark days for these counties. Their wheat and meadows were destroyed by the locusts. They planted their corn, but it was devoured as fast as it came up. Again they would plant it, thinking that the insects would leave as soon as they became able to fly, and again it was devoured. Governor Hardin proclaimed that June 3, 1875, should be observed as a day of "fasting, thanksgiving and prayer" for Divine deliverance from the vexatious plague. The proclamation was generally observed, especially in that part of the State where the danger seemed most imminent; and throughout the State the people responded liberally with money and provisions for the sufferers. About this time, in fact on the very next day, heavy rains set in. Up to that time the long continued drought had not abated in western Missouri, though slight rains had fallen in the spring months of 1875, but now they became heavy and frequent. This was regarded as a forerunner of deliverance. It was. The locusts began to move about June 11th, but a strong southwest wind drove them further into the interior

of the State, but in a day or two the wind shifted to the east, and by the fifteenth the locusts were all gone. The next year they came again, but did little damage, and since that time have not appeared. The citizens of these counties began at once to retrieve the loss. They planted their crops again, and, the season being very favorable from that time on, the yield was bountiful. All over the State the crops were prodigious in 1875, and this fact served largely to alleviate the business depression of the two previous years.

221. The New Constitution.—The people did not become any nearer satisfied with the Drake Constitution as they more thoroughly adjusted themselves to re-established peace. They felt it was out of harmony with the spirit of the age. At the election of 1874 a convention to frame a new constitution was voted for. Sixty-eight delegates, two from each senatorial district, were elected thereto on January 6, 1875. They were able men, of great personal worth and wisdom. Sixty of them were Democrats, six Republicans and two Liberals. They met in the Capitol May 15, 1875. Waldo P. Johnson was elected president, and Nathaniel W. Watkins vice-president. A thorough revision of the entire organic law of the State was made. The best provisions of the preceding constitutions were retained, but an entire new constitution was framed. It has from time to time been amended, notably in increasing the number of judges of the Supreme Court from five to seven, in increasing the number of courts of appeals from one to three, in giving county courts power to levy a tax of twenty-five cents on the hundred dollars' valuation to be used exclusively for improving public roads, in authorizing counties by vote of the people to issue bonds for building permanent roads, and in authorizing a prosecuting attorney to institute prosecutions in all felony cases by his information instead of solely upon indictment by a grand jury; and in two other important respects mentioned in the next section.

222. Some Marked Features.—This is not the proper place to discuss the Constitution at length, and only a few of its marked features will be mentioned. (1) It prohibits the Legislature from imposing a debt upon the State in excess of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars unless it has first submitted to the people the act by which the debt is to be incurred and two-thirds of the voters at a special election ratify the act. This was done in order to prevent the fastening on the State of a debt like that discussed in Section 213. But it also provided that the Constitution might be amended by a majority of the qualified voters, and in late years two amendments, one authorizing the Legislature to enact a law directing the issuance of sixty millions of state bonds to be used in constructing permanent roads, and the other authorizing it to enact a law directing the issuance of fifteen million dollars of state bonds to be used as a reward or bonus to Missouri soldiers in the World War, were adopted. By that course the consent of only a majority, and not two-thirds, of the qualified voters is necessary to authorize a state debt; but in no case can a large state debt be incurred until the proposition is first submitted to the people and their approval obtained. (2) It prohibits counties, cities and school districts from creating debts for any purpose except upon the consent of two-thirds of the qualified voters, and even with such consent it permits them to incur debts only for the purpose of erecting some sort of public improvements, such as school houses, jails, court houses, permanent roads, waterworks and light plants. (3) It fixed maximum rates of taxation to pay current expenses, which neither the Legislature, county court nor city councils can exceed. The purpose of these various provisions was to compel the State and all its subdivisions to practice economy and conduct their affairs on a cash basis. But they have been persistently assailed by certain persons, who claim they hamper and even prevent necessary public enterprise. On the other hand, it is asserted that

they are the most valuable features of the Constitution, and are necessary to prevent waste and extravagance. Whether the Constitution should contain maximum limits upon taxation will always be a live issue in our politics.

Upon the final vote in the Convention on the adoption of this Constitution, not a vote was recorded against it, and on the thirtieth of October it was adopted by the people, there being ninety-one thousand votes for it and only fourteen thousand five hundred against it. It went into effect November 30, 1875, and marked a new era in the State's history, not especially acclaimed at the time, but very apparent at this distance, for from that time on the whole people realized that the proscriptions and turmoil of the ten years between 1860 and 1870 were forever at an end. When Hardin became Governor he set for himself the task of promoting harmony and good will among the whole people, and being a man of peace and orderly life himself he did much to accomplish that purpose. From the time of his administration and the adoption of the Constitution of 1875 up to the present the history of the State has been uneventful. It has been an era of peace. There have been droughts and floods, hard times and flush prosperity, political contests and party discord; but more and more the people have drawn together in the wholesome pursuits of peaceful industry—in enlarging agriculture, manufacturing and commerce, in beautifying their homes and cities, in developing schools, in promoting good morals, in cultivating polite manners, in strengthening the ties that bind communities into good neighbors and friends. As a result Missouri has slowly become one of the finest commonwealths in the world—rich in material wealth, rich in strong men and beautiful women, rich in sound manhood.

223. Terms of Office.—By the new Constitution, the term of the Governor and of nearly all other State and many county officers was lengthened from two to four years, and it was provided that the Governor and Treasurer could not

be re-elected as their own successors. It was thought the Governor would not set himself to building up a personal political machine, but would choose men because of their special fitness rather than for their political influence in making his appointments, if not permitted to succeed himself. As the Treasurer handles the State's money, it was considered it would be less liable to be purloined if frequent changes were made in the officers, and for the same reason sheriffs are not permitted to serve continuously longer than four years; but almost all other officers are eligible to re-election for at least a second term and a majority of them for any number of terms.

224. The Election of 1876.—At the election in 1876 the Democratic and Republican parties each nominated strong and talented men for Governor, John S. Phelps of Greene and G. A. Finkelnburg of St. Louis. The issues in the campaign that followed were largely national. The Democratic majority was fifty-two thousand, and Phelps was inaugurated Governor January 8th, 1877.

Questions on Chapter XXI.

1. Recite some of the incidents in the life of Silas Woodson. (215)
2. What is said about the business depressions during his term? (216)
3. How did he and the Legislature meet this condition? (216)
4. What is said of the Grange? (217)
5. To what were the financial troubles of these years partly due? (217)
6. What action did the political parties take at the election in 1874? (218)
7. Give a sketch of the life of Charles H. Hardin. (219)
8. What is said about locusts? (220)
9. What efforts were made toward securing a new Constitution? (221)
10. Mention its first marked feature. (222)
11. And the second. (222)
12. And the third. (222)
13. How was it adopted? (222)

14. What was the vote for and against it? (222)
15. What changes did it make in the terms of offices? (223)
16. Who were the candidates for Governor in 1876? (224)
17. Who was elected and with what majority? (224)

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM 1877 TO 1892.

225. John S. Phelps.—John S. Phelps was born in Connecticut, December 22, 1814. His father, Elisha Phelps, was a lawyer of prominence in that State and served also as a member of the Legislature, and in other State offices, and three terms in Congress. His grandfather was a gallant and brave officer in the Revolutionary War. He received a classical education, studied law and was admitted to the bar in his native State. In 1837 he came to Missouri and settled at Springfield. Under the then laws of the State he must needs obtain a new license before he could practice law in Missouri, and that, too, from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Phelps made the journey to Jefferson City on horseback, and on arrival learned that Judge Tompkins was some distance in the country at a sawmill. There the judge was found and the examination had, the applicant sitting on a log, and the hard knotty questions, hard like the logs around them, were plied by the chief justice. The license was written on a leaf torn from an old blue ledger, and from this unique circumstance young Phelps turned away to become one of the most prominent and



John S. Phelps.

influential men in the State's history for the next forty years. He soon became noted in southwest Missouri as a great lawyer, and in 1840 was elected to the Legislature as a Democrat. In 1844 he was elected to Congress, and was a member of that body continuously till 1862. At that time the most important committee of the House was the Committee of Ways and Means, and of this Mr. Phelps was eight years chairman. When the war came on he sided with the Union, and did much toward aiding General Lyon in his efforts to grasp the State from the hands of Governor Jackson. In 1861 he organized "Phelps's Regiment," was its colonel for several months, and, at the battle of Pea Ridge, commanded it in person and saw it suffer a loss of thirty per cent of its men. In 1862 he was military governor of Arkansas. In 1863 he resumed the practice of law at Springfield. He was frequently put forward during the next few years for United States Senator as a Union Democrat, but always defeated. In 1868 he was the Democratic candidate for Governor, and was elected in 1876, served for four years, and filled the office with creditable honor and wisdom. So well satisfied were the people with his administration that he doubtless would have been elected again had not the Constitution adopted in 1875 made it impossible for him to succeed himself. He died in St. Louis in 1886.

226. Senators.—In 1875 Francis M. Cockrell was elected as a Democrat to represent Missouri in the United States Senate, and was re-elected in 1881, 1887, 1893 and 1899. He served the people as Senator for just thirty years, but in March, 1905, was defeated by William Warner, a Republican. In 1879 George G. Vest was elected as the other United States Senator, and continued to serve for twenty-four years. At the close of his fourth term, in 1903, he declined re-election, and William J. Stone, a Democrat, was chosen as his successor, and re-elected in 1909 and 1915. In 1911 James A. Reed of Kansas City was elected to succeed

Major Warner, and re-elected in 1916. Senator Stone died in 1918, and in November Selden P. Spencer of St. Louis was elected for the balance of the term and then in 1920 elected again for a full term.

227. Governor Crittenden.—Thomas T. Crittenden was elected Governor in 1880. The Republican candidate was D. Pat. Dyer of St. Louis, who in after years was the judge of the United States District Court of Eastern Missouri. Mr. Crittenden was born in Kentucky in 1832, and reared at Cloverport on the Ohio River. His primary education was in the log-cabin schoolhouse of that time, but in 1852 he entered Centre College, in that State, and was graduated therefrom in 1855. He studied law with his uncle, the great J. J. Crittenden, and came to Missouri and settled at Lexington. In 1862 he enrolled in the State militia, was made lieutenant-colonel and served till the close of the war. He then resumed the practice of law at Warrensburg, as a partner of General F. M. Cockrell. He became a leader in the liberal movement for equality of citizenship, peace, fraternity and good will, and boldly advanced these ideas in a brilliant canvass of a great part of the State. In 1872 he was elected to Congress, and again in 1876. During his administration a settlement of the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad debt was effected. The State had, in 1851 and 1855, issued its bonds to the amount of \$3,000,000 to aid in building that road. During this administration, after a great number of law suits, the road paid the debt with interest.



Thos. T. Crittenden.

228. The Election of 1884.—There were three candidates for Governor in 1884. The Democrats nominated John S. Marmaduke; the Republicans, Nicholas Ford of Andrew County; and the Prohibitionists, John A. Brooks of Kansas City. Neither Marmaduke nor Ford had any ability as public speakers, and neither had ever been extensively or conspicuously identified with political contests; consequently, the campaign was largely overshadowed by the national contest for the Presidency between Blaine and Cleveland. The Prohibitionists, however, made a more energetic campaign and polled more votes than ever before or since. Marmaduke was elected. The principal features of his administration were the Local Option Law and the legislation regulating railroads. For some time public sentiment had been growing against the grasping power and extortionate greed of rail-



John S. Marmaduke.

roads. An effort was made in the Legislature of 1887 to give relief, but without success, and an adjournment was had, leaving the matter entirely unsettled, much to the regret of the Governor and a large part of the people. Thereupon he called an extra session to consider this question. After an animated session, prolonged through several weeks, a law was passed forbidding railroads to pool with each other in keeping up the price of traffic, also forbidding them from charging higher

rates for short distances than for longer ones over the same road and to the same market, also from charging small shippers higher rates per car than large ones. The law satisfied the public demands for a few years and as time goes on

seems to be much more efficient than was at first supposed.

229. The Local Option Law was enacted in 1887 in the interest of temperance. It empowered the legal voters of a city or county to determine, by majority vote, whether or not intoxicating liquors should be sold in their midst. Numerous elections were held under this law, and the State was alive with them in 1887 and 1888. Then public interest subsided for a few years; then revived, and opposition to saloons steadily grew and steadfastly persisted, and by 1918 most of the cities and all but twenty-three counties had adopted the law, thereby making unlawful the sale of intoxicating liquors within their bounds. In fact, opposition to saloons became so general that in 1919 the Legislature enacted a state-wide prohibition law, which made it unlawful to make, sell, transport or give away intoxicating liquors anywhere in the State. That law, submitted to the people by referendum petitions in 1920 and approved by a majority of 62,000 votes, of course supplanted the Local Option Law, because it applied to the whole State.

230. Governor Marmaduke.—John Sappington Marmaduke was born in Saline County in 1833, being a son of M. M. Marmaduke, who became Governor on the death of Thomas Reynolds in 1844. He was reared on the farm, entered Yale College at the age of seventeen and West Point Military Academy at the age of twenty, from which he was graduated in 1857, and was assigned to duty in Utah as an officer in the Regular Army under the renowned Albert Sidney Johnston. When civil war broke in mad fury over the land, he resigned from the United States Army, organized a company of State Guards and joined Governor Jackson at Boonville. Contrary to his advice, Governor Jackson, who was his uncle by marriage, ordered him to give battle to General Lyon at that place. He obeyed the order, led his little army to certain defeat in face of Lyon's stalwart troops, then quickly

resigned from the State Guard, proceeded to Richmond and tendered his sword to the Confederacy, and then went off to the war. He became a colonel in Albert Sidney Johnston's army, and, for gallant conduct at the battle of Shiloh, was breveted brigadier-general on the field. He subsequently took part in the war in Missouri and Arkansas. When the war was over he became a commission merchant in St. Louis. Afterwards he became interested in journalism and became the owner of a farmers' paper called the *Journal of Agriculture*. In 1876 he was elected Railroad Commissioner, and in 1884 Governor, and served just three years, till December 28, 1887, on which day he died. He was not a man of exemplary private habits, but as an officer he was above reproach. His every official act was guided by the rule that "a public office is a public trust." He despised political machines, and would not prostitute his office to building up one for himself or for any one else. He set his face steadily against cliques, combines, political intrigue and underhanded public action. His appointees were men of high character and standing and he required of them to perform their statutory duties faithfully and impartially for the public good, and to no other end. He loved little children, and had the candor and sincerity of a child. During his administration he was characterized by his friends, and afterwards by his political opponents, as "the immaculate Governor." Upon his death, Albert P. Morehouse, the Lieutenant-Governor, immediately succeeded to the office of Governor, and held it for one year. He was a native of Ohio and came to Missouri in 1856, and after teaching school for a time became a lawyer, and rose to eminence in northwest Missouri as a citizen. He served several terms in the Legislature and died in September, 1891.

231. The Election of 1888.—At the election of 1888 the Democratic candidate for Governor was David R. Francis of St. Louis, and the Republican was E. E. Kimball of Nevada.

Francis was elected, and Stephen Claycomb, of Jasper County, was chosen Lieutenant-Governor.

232. David Rowland Francis was born in Kentucky in 1850, and moved with his parents to St. Louis in 1866, where for four years he attended Washington University, graduating with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1870. His expenses while at college were defrayed partly by money he had earned as a newsboy in Richmond, Kentucky, during the war, from 1861 to 1864. To complete his education he incurred a debt of several hundred dollars, which he repaid out of the first money earned after graduation. In 1870 he entered upon successful commercial pursuits, which he has continued to the present time. In March, 1885, he was elected Mayor of St. Louis, and in November, 1888, was elected Governor, and inaugurated January 14, 1889. In 1896 he was called to the Cabinet by President Cleveland, as Secretary of the Interior, and served the country as the head of the Interior Department about six months.

When Congress and the State determined to fittingly celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the acquiring of Louisiana Province, at St. Louis in 1914, he was elected president of the World's Fair Company, and by his great executive abilities and the untiring assistance of those associated with him, carried through to successful accomplishment one of the world's greatest expositions. In 1915 he was appointed by President Wilson

Ambassador to Russia, and undertook the hard task of protecting the interests of this nation and its people at Petrograd—



David R. Francis.

a most difficult and delicate post, calling for skillful diplomacy, since Russia and all the other great nations of Europe were then at war. During his administration as Governor the State Treasurer became a defaulter in the sum of about thirty-two thousand dollars. The Governor promptly suspended him from office, his bondsmen without suit made good the amount embezzled, and the defaulting officer was prosecuted and sent to the penitentiary. Lon V. Stephens, who afterwards was Governor, was appointed State Treasurer to fill the vacancy.

Questions on Chapter XXII.

1. Give a sketch of the life of John S. Phelps. (225)
2. Who were elected Senators in 1875 and 1879? (226)
3. Who were the candidates for Governor in 1880? (227)
4. Give a sketch of Governor Crittenden's life. (227)
5. For what is his administration most remembered? (227)
6. Who were the candidates for Governor in 1884? (228)
7. What is said about the campaign? (228)
8. What were the principal features of Marmaduke's administration? (228)
9. What is said about legislation regulating railroads? (228)
10. What is said of the Local Option Law? (229)
11. Give a sketch of the life of John S. Marmaduke. (230)
12. How long did he serve as Governor? (230)
13. Who succeeded him? (230)
14. What is said of Governor Morehouse? (230)
15. What is said of the election of 1888? (231)
16. Give a sketch of the life of Mr. Francis. (232)

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM 1892 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

233. The Election of 1892.—In 1892 the Republican party nominated Major William Warner of Kansas City as its candidate for Governor, and the Democrats nominated William J. Stone of Nevada. Both candidates were exceedingly able speakers, and the campaign that followed was one

of the most active ever known in the State. The main issue of the contest was the proper system of taxation by the Federal Government—whether there should be a tariff for protection or tariff for revenue only. In this campaign Leverett Leonard of Saline County was a candidate of the new Populist or People's party for the office of Governor. At the polls Major Warner received 235,383 votes, Mr. Stone, 265,044, Mr. Leonard, 37,262. There were also 3,393 votes cast for John Sobieski, the Prohibition candidate. Mr. Stone received 29,661 more votes than did Major Warner, and was elected.

234. William J. Stone.—William Joel Stone was born near Richmond in Madison County, Kentucky, in 1848, his ancestors having come to that State from Virginia. He was



William J. Stone.

reared on his father's farm and attended the neighborhood schools and the seminary at Richmond. In 1863 he came to Missouri and was educated at the State University at Columbia. In 1869 he was admitted to the bar, served as city attorney of Columbia for a few months, and in 1870 removed to Nevada, and soon became one of the most prominent citizens and lawyers of southwest Missouri. In 1884 he was elected to Congress and served in the House of Representatives for six years. While a member of

that body the tenacious contest arose in Congress over the forfeiture of the immense land grants made to Western and Southern railroads between 1862 and 1868. Mr. Stone contended that these lands ought to be restored to the public

domain for the reason that the railroads had not complied with the terms of the grants. He became a leader on the side of those urging that the grants be forfeited, and as a result of this movement about sixty million acres were restored to the Government while he was a member of Congress. In 1892 he became Governor, and during his term led in the organization of the Democratic party of the State in behalf of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. At the close of his term as Governor, he engaged in the practice of the law at St. Louis, and in 1903 was elected a Senator in Congress by the Missouri General Assembly, and was re-elected in 1909, and again in 1915. He took high rank in the Senate. In time he became chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the most important position in the Senate after the great European war came on in 1914.

235. Decrease in Revenues.—In 1892 the valuation of all property in the State, as ascertained by the assessments made by the county assessors and the changes made by the State Board of Equalization in equalizing those assessments, slightly exceeded the sum of nine hundred million dollars. Up to that time since the adoption of the Constitution of 1875 the rate of taxation for State purposes had been twenty cents on the hundred dollars' valuation. But by the Constitution when the entire valuation exceeds nine hundred millions, this rate must not exceed fifteen cents on each hundred dollars' worth of property. Hence, it may be seen that the revenues of the State were much less for the next few years than they had been for some time prior to 1893. Nevertheless the State government was not impaired nor greatly embarrassed by this sudden change. By proper economy it was able to appropriate one-third of its revenue to the public schools, and besides built the main edifice to the State University, whose buildings had been burned in 1892, and made additions to

about half of the educational and eleemosynary institutions of the State, and paid all claims against the treasury when presented.

236. Cyclones.—In late years destructive storms, popularly called cyclones or tornadoes, have occurred in the West, and in most states in the upper Mississippi Valley. They have occurred in various parts of Missouri, but only the four that were most destructive of life and property will be mentioned. In 1878 a violent storm swept down on Richmond, in Ray County, killing more than a score of people, and destroying many houses. Another, equally destructive of life and property, overtook the town of Marshfield, in Webster County, in 1880. Another still more destructive fell upon the town of Kirksville in 1899. But the worst cyclone perhaps ever known in the West was the one which came down on St. Louis late in the afternoon of May 27, 1896. It came from a southwesterly direction, and mowed a wide way for itself through the city. Churches, residences, factories, parks, buildings of every kind were destroyed. It caused the death of two hundred and twenty people in the city, twelve boats on the river were lost, eight thousand three hundred houses were either destroyed or badly damaged, and parts of the great railroad bridge over the Mississippi were blown down. But wherever these storms have occurred, the survivors have soon set aside their fears, gathered their energies together again and repaired the loss of property. The number of deaths in the whole State caused by them is far less than that caused by a disease of ordinary virulence, and the value of the property destroyed is not to be compared to that consumed by fire; and, beyond question, many people have permitted themselves to unnecessarily exaggerate their danger.

237. Election of 1896.—For the election of 1896 the Democrats nominated Lon V. Stephens, of Boonville, for Governor, and the Republicans nominated Robert E. Lewis,

of Clinton. The Populists nominated Orville D. Jones, of Edina, but in a month or two after his nomination Judge Jones withdrew in favor of Mr. Stephens. The campaign was a stirring one from the beginning. Mr. Stephens was elected, receiving 43,233 more votes than Mr. Lewis.

238. Governor Stephens.—Lon V. Stephens was born in Boonville, Missouri, December 21, 1858, being a son of the well-known Joseph L. Stephens, who for many years was one of the most prominent business men of the State, and himself a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor in 1872. He was prepared for college in the famous Kemper Family School of Boonville, and was then sent to Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Virginia. After



Lon V. Stephens.

making a tour of Europe, he became identified with his father's bank in Boonville, serving as book-keeper, cashier, and director, and here received the training which soon made him conspicuous among the younger business men of Missouri. In 1887 he was made receiver of the Fifth National Bank of St. Louis, which had become bankrupt, and so successfully wound up its affairs as to attract the attention of the State. In

March, 1890, he was appointed State Treasurer to fill out the term of Mr. Noland, who had been removed, and in 1892 elected to the same position for a term of four years. While in this office he became identified with those who were urging the cause of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, which had gained control of the Democratic party in Missouri, and at the State convention was nominated for Governor by acclamation, and elected to that office in November.

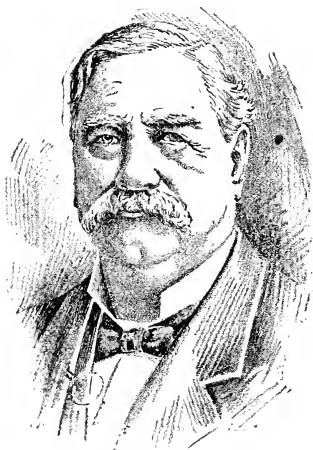
239. Strikes.—During Governor Stone's term there was a strike among the coal miners throughout the country, which was accompanied with violence in many States. The militia was called out in Ohio, Kansas, Tennessee and other States to restore order. A strong effort was made to involve the miners of Missouri in this strike; but because of the prompt and wise action taken by the administration, assisted by employers and leaders among the miners, all trouble here was averted.

About the first of July, 1894, a strike by the employees of railroads extended over a great part of the country. Traffic was interrupted, commerce greatly impeded, and in some places there were violence, bloodshed and destruction of property. But happily in Missouri traffic was not materially interrupted except on three railroads, and on these the trouble continued for only three or four days; nor was there any extensive destruction of property or bloodshed.

But in 1900, during the administration of Governor Stephens, there was a strike among the employees of the street railways in St. Louis, which lasted for six weeks. It involved about four-fifths of all the railways in the city, and was attended with some violence and resulted in much loss of business. In fact, business almost ceased, both within the city and with the wide extent of country of which it is the metropolis. The police forced the cars to run, but did not give such protection as made it safe for citizens to ride on them. The mayor and municipal assembly seemed indifferent, and made no real effort to restore order. The Governor was appealed to by a large number of citizens to call out the militia to put down the rioters. He replied that he would not do so because there was no money on hand with which to pay their expenses, and because he was not convinced that the sheriff had tried to use the *posse comitatus* to suppress disorder, and directed the sheriff to do that at once. Then the sheriff summoned hundreds of the most prominent and

substantial citizens in the city to aid him. They responded with surprising alacrity. They took their guns and went forth to restore order, and order was soon restored. The rioters ceased to destroy property, throw stones at cars, insult passengers, or do other violence. Then the strike wore itself out. A few of the most lawless among the rioters were tried for criminally destroying the tracks and blowing up cars on which were passengers, convicted, and sent to the penitentiary.

240. Election of 1900.—In 1900 the Democratic party nominated Alexander M. Dockery of Gallatin as its candidate for Governor, and the Republicans nominated Joseph Flory of St. Louis. Five or six other small parties also put forward candidates, but the issue was between the Democrats and the Republicans. Mr. Dockery was elected by a plurality of 32,147 over Mr. Flory.



A. M. Dockery.

241. Governor Dockery.

—Alexander Monroe Dockery was born in Daviess County, February 11, 1845. He was educated in the common schools, and at the Macon Academy, and graduated from the best medical colleges in St. Louis and New York, and practiced medicine until 1874, in Linneus and Chilli-cothe. In 1874 he assisted in organizing a bank at Gallatin and for eight years was its cashier. It was during that period that his unusual business ability first manifested itself. In 1882 he was elected to Congress as a

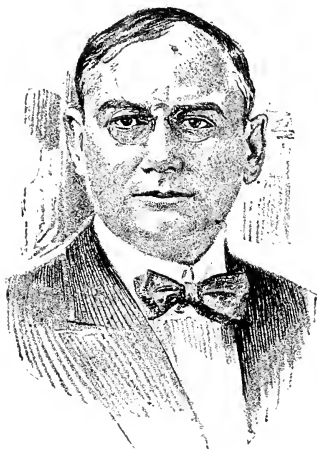
Democrat, and was a member of the House of Representatives for sixteen years, where he took high rank, and was the author

of some legislation which has become a fixed part of the Government's affairs, such as the law providing for special letter delivery at all postoffices and of the law extending free delivery of mails to small cities. In 1899 he voluntarily retired from Congress to become a candidate for Governor. He was elected, and inaugurated January 14, 1901.

242. Election of 1904.—With the exception of the unimportant election of 1894, the Democrats had carried the State at every election since the right to vote had been restored to all male citizens twenty-one years of age in 1870. But in 1904 the Democratic party was torn to pieces by internal dissensions. The campaign leading up to the State convention was intensely bitter. It resulted in the nomination of Joseph W. Folk of St. Louis. The Republicans nominated Cyrus P. Walbridge of the same city. Mr. Folk was elected, but otherwise the Republicans almost completely swept the State. They elected the other six State officers, a majority of the Circuit Judges and Representatives in Congress, and obtained a large majority in the House of Representatives of the General Assembly, and that assembly elected a Republican to the United States Senate, and they carried not only the three large cities of St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph, but a majority of the counties, and the Republican candidate for President also carried the State by a large plurality. But in the election of 1906, when the bitterness in the Democratic party had somewhat abated, that party again carried the State by small majorities. Their State ticket was successful, they elected their candidates for county offices in a majority of the counties, and had a large majority in both houses of the General Assembly of 1907.

243. Governor Folk.—Joseph W. Folk was born in Brownsville, Tennessee, October 28, 1869; he was educated in the common schools, and took a law course at Vanderbilt University, at Nashville. He came to Missouri in 1891, and in 1900 was elected Circuit Attorney of St. Louis, and soon

after entering into office began the prosecution of members of the Municipal Assembly who had been guilty of bribery.



Joseph W. Folk.

A large number of them were indicted, and some of them convicted and sent to the penitentiary. In 1904 he was elected Governor by a plurality of 30,100. The entire vote in the State was 643,969, which was 40,225 less than it had been four years before. Mr. Folk was the youngest man ever elected Governor of Missouri, being at the time of his election only a little over thirty-five years of age—and no man can become Governor until he reaches that age.

244. The Election of 1908.

—The Republican party in 1908 nominated Herbert S. Hadley of Kansas City for Governor, and the Democrats nominated William S. Cowherd of the same city. Both were men of marked abilities and large experience in public affairs. General Hadley was elected by a plurality of 15,879 votes. The Republican candidate for President also carried the State by 629 votes, and he thereby received its entire electoral vote. The returns showed a majority of 23 votes for William R. Painter of Carroll county for Lieutenant-Governor, out of a total of nearly seven hundred thousand. These returns were challenged when they were sent to the General Assembly, and that body, after weary attempts to correct the errors therein, declared that J. F. Gmelich, the Republican candidate, had been elected by 177 votes. The Democratic candidates for Secretary of State, State Auditor, State Treasurer, Attorney-General and Supreme Judge were elected. The Republicans had a majority

in the House of Representatives, but the Democrats a larger majority in the Senate, and the General Assembly on joint ballot re-elected William J. Stone to the United States Senate. The Republicans elected six and the Democrats ten Representatives in Congress.

245. Governor Hadley.—Herbert S. Hadley was born in Olathe, Kansas, February 20, 1872. He was educated at the University of Kansas, the Northwestern University and the Chicago Law School. He began the practice of the law in Kansas City in 1894, and in 1898 was appointed first assistant city counselor of that city, which position he held until January 1, 1901, when he resigned to enter upon his duties as prosecuting attorney of Jackson County, to which position he had been elected in the previous November. In 1904 he was the Republican candidate for Attorney-General and was elected. In this office he became very active in the prosecution of certain trusts and combinations in restraint of trade, especially the Standard Oil Company, and through these suits attracted the attention of the people of this State and of other States. In 1908 he was nominated by the Republicans as their candidate for Governor, without opposition in his party, and at the succeeding election in November was elected.



Herbert S. Hadley.

246. Election of 1912.—The Republican party throughout the nation was divided into two strong factions in 1912. The supporters of William H. Taft, by methods much condemned by those Republicans opposing him, gained a majority

of the delegates in the National Convention, and renominated him for President. Some of the delegates withdrew from the convention and, joined by others, organized the Progressive party and nominated Theodore Roosevelt. Each party nominated state and county tickets throughout the country, and that fact made it easy for the Democrats to be successful at the polls. The Republican candidate for Governor was John C. McKinley of Unionville, the Progressive was Judge Albert D. Norton of St. Louis, and the Democratic, Elliott W. Major of Pike County. McKinley's vote was 217,819, Norton's, 109,146, and Major's, 337,019. Mr. Major and all the other Democratic candidates for State offices were elected. The Democrats also had a large majority in both houses of the General Assembly and had gained nearly all the county and district offices.

247. Governor Major.—

Elliott W. Major was born in Lincoln County, October 20, 1864, and was educated in the public schools and Watson Seminary. He studied law in the office of Hon. Champ Clark, who in after years was Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington. He was admitted to the bar and made Bowling Green his home. In 1896 he was elected to the State Senate and was a member of the commission that revised and compiled the Revised Statutes of Missouri in 1899. In 1904 he



Elliott W. Major.

was nominated for Attorney-General by the Democrats, but was defeated by Herbert S. Hadley. In 1908 he was again nominated for the same office, this time without opposition,

and was elected. In 1912 he was nominated over William S. Cowherd in the state-wide primary, and was elected in the following November. There are three outstanding features of his administration. The first were the laws providing for aid by the State to high schools in small cities and in consolidated school districts and to weak common schools. The next was the increased interest engendered in improving public roads and building permanent roads. The third was the creation of the Public Service Commission, which was given control over all public service corporations, such as telephone, railroad and electric light companies, the purpose being to so regulate their rates along lines of justice both to the companies and the public, that the duplication of plants as a remedy for excessive rates and insufficient service, and the consequent waste of properties, which in the end must be borne by consumers, would be avoided.

248. The Election of 1916.—The contest for nominations in the State-wide primary held in August, 1916, was spirited. There were seven candidates for the Democratic nomination for Governor, and the honor by a large plurality went to Frederick Gardner of St. Louis. There were four candidates for the nomination at the hands of the Republican party; Henry Lamm of Sedalia, who was a lawyer of large abilities and for ten years had been Supreme Judge, was nominated. The race between the two candidates for Governor was close, Mr. Gardner being elected by a plurality of only 2,263. The Democratic candidates for all the other State offices, except the candidate for State Auditor, were elected by pluralities varying from fourteen thousand to twenty-two thousand, and the Democrats had a majority in both houses of the succeeding General Assembly. They also elected fourteen of their sixteen candidates for Representatives in Congress, and their candidate for United States Senator. Their success was in part due to the popularity of the Democratic candidate for President, Woodrow Wilson, whose administration during the preceding

four years, and the many advanced laws for the promotion of the welfare of the people enacted by the Democratic Congress during that period, were pleasing to the people of this State.

Frederick Gardner was born on a farm near Hickman, Kentucky, November 6, 1869. His mother died when he was



Frederick D. Gardner.

seven years of age, and his father, who had been a Confederate soldier, moved to Tennessee. In 1886 Frederick came to Missouri, found employment in St. Louis, soon embarked in business for himself, and rapidly built up a great industry. In 1913 he was one of the thirteen freeholders selected to frame a new charter for the city. He had never held any other office prior to his election as Governor, and the condition of the State Treasury imposed on him and the Legislature heavy tasks.

For sometime the expense of the State government had outrun its income. In the preceding six years over eight hundred thousand dollars had been paid out to help weak public schools, and aid had been given to road building and other public enterprises. The appropriations made by the General Assembly for two or three sessions had been in excess of the anticipated revenue. More than a million and a half dollars was due because of obligations that had been incurred in the belief that the revenue that would come in during the next two years would be sufficient to meet the appropriations made in 1915. Governor Gardner and the Legislature went to work in good earnest to devise measures by which all these accounts could be paid, and none of the aid theretofore extended to the public schools and other enterprises in behalf of the general welfare

would be curtailed. Laws were enacted placing a tax on incomes of individuals and corporations, and a franchise tax on the capital stock and surplus of corporations, and an inspection tax on soft drinks, and increasing inheritance taxes. These and other kindred laws very greatly increased the State's revenues, so that all accounts and current obligations were paid, and when Mr. Gardner's term expired there was a balance of \$4,901,354 in the Treasury.

Laws were also enacted making women eligible to hold the office of school director and making provision for vocational education in the public schools.

During his administration the Legislature enacted a law which prohibited any jury or court from inflicting the death penalty as a punishment for murder or any other crime; but after a trial of a little over a year, the law was repealed, at a special session, by a large vote, and in its stead were enacted laws which permit the jury to assess at death the punishment of a defendant found guilty of murder, treason, kidnapping, robbing a passenger train, and one other horrible crime. By these new enactments the Legislature simply restored the punishments of former years, and declared that, in their opinion, atrocious crimes would be less frequent if the jury were authorized to impose capital punishment.

During his administration the Legislature, by an overwhelming vote in both houses, on January 19, 1919, ratified the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which made unlawful the sale, manufacture or transportation of intoxicating liquors, for beverage purposes, anywhere in the United States; and, also, by almost unanimous vote, ratified, on July 3, 1919, the Nineteenth Amendment, which forbids any State to deny to any of its citizens the right to vote on account of sex.

The demand for better public roads had been growing, and in 1919 the Legislature submitted to the legal voters an amendment to the Constitution which was adopted at the general

election in November, 1920. It authorized the Legislature to enact a law requiring the State to issue sixty million dollars in bonds, sell them, and use the money in building hard-surface public roads. It also required that an annual registration tax be levied against automobiles and all other motor vehicles, and that the tax as collected be set aside to pay the bonds, and if enough revenue were not obtained by that method to pay them as they mature that the deficit be made up by a general property tax. The Legislature, at a special session in 1921, enacted the necessary law, and added to the fund the moneys appropriated by Congress for building post-roads within the State. The entire fund that will be available for this purpose, therefore, will ultimately amount to something like a hundred million dollars. It is one of the most important public enterprises ever undertaken by the State, and if the roads are built and paid for in the manner intended they will in many substantial ways add to the prosperity, happiness and contentment of the people.

When the United States entered the great World War in 1917 Governor Gardner and the people of Missouri united almost as one man to do their share in winning it. Never before had their loyalty and patriotism become so manifest. They voluntarily practiced self-denial, uncomplainingly endured many inconveniences, and in hundreds of ways united their efforts to produce the things necessary to support and strengthen the nation's fighting forces. They felt they were fighting for the rights of mankind, for the preservation of civilization and to maintain free government on the earth. There was not much bluster and noise about it all, but their unselfishness and their enthusiasm for their country rose to great heights of spiritual exaltation.

249. The Election of 1920.—The general enthusiasm engendered by the World War continued for some months after Germany sued for peace and the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918. But then a reaction set in. The

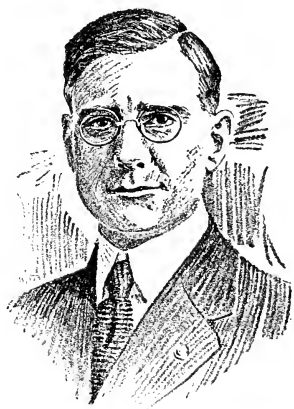
Government had contracted debts in excess of twenty-five billion dollars in order to carry the war through to a successful issue, and taxes had risen to immense heights. Industry had been seriously dislocated and demoralized, and the days of readjustment that followed were sorely perplexing. Prices of all commodities and wages had become exceedingly high, and as these began to recede manufacturers and merchants found it hard to sell their goods for what it had cost to produce them. The prices of corn, wheat, cotton, cattle and other farm products fell off in the course of a year one-half, and of some of them more than one-half, and farmers were in sore straits. Readjustment after a great war is always hard. War is always accompanied by increasing prices. When it is over and prices begin to react towards normal conditions, business men find it very difficult to readjust their affairs to constantly falling prices. The readjustment always produces discontent and complainings. The rebound from the high nervous tension engendered by the war was natural. The reaction which follows the fever of a great national enthusiasm is always accompanied by discontent and grumblings. The discontent would have followed naturally had there been no high taxes and no general reduction in prices. But accompanied by them it became general and swept over the entire nation and engulfed the Democratic party. Woodrow Wilson, who had been President while the war lasted, was a member of that party, and much of the dissatisfaction was directed towards him. When the war was over he tried to bring about a League of Nations, by which he hoped to prevent all future wars. Many persons saw in this league a surrender of national sovereignty, and an alliance which committed America to participate in any European war that might arise. The Democratic party espoused the League as the sure method of adjusting and settling disputes among nations and preventing wars. Whether the American people really meant to reject the League of Nations is yet a disputed

question and will be for some years. Certain it is that, in their discontent, they wanted a change from the conditions which enveloped them, and they manifested their desire for a change by giving to the candidates of the Republican party the largest majority of votes ever given to the candidates of any party in the history of America.

The Republicans nominated Warren G. Harding of Ohio for President, and the Democrats James Cox of the same state. Of the votes cast in all the states, Mr. Harding received 16,140,585 and Mr. Cox 9,141,621. Mr. Harding's plurality in the nation was 6,998,964, and in Missouri it was 152,663.

For their State tickets, the Republicans nominated Arthur M. Hyde of Grundy County for Governor, and the Democrats nominated John M. Atkinson of St. Louis. Mr. Hyde received 722,020 votes, and Mr. Atkinson 580,716, Mr. Hyde's plurality being 141,304. The Republicans also elected all their candidates for the other State offices, and carried a vast majority of the counties. They elected three-fourths of the members of the House of Representatives, and had a majority of four in the State Senate.

At this election women voted for the first time in Missouri, and the entire number of votes cast in the State for all candidates for President was 1,332,800, which was an increase of 546,031 over the vote of 1916, an increase of almost sixty per cent.



Arthur M. Hyde.

250. Governor Hyde.—Arthur Mastick Hyde was born in Princeton, Mercer County, Missouri, July 12, 1877. He was educated in the public schools of Princeton, at Oberlin

Academy in Ohio, and at the University of Michigan, where he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Afterwards he received a degree from the law school of the University of Iowa, and formed a partnership for the practice of law with his father, the Hon. Ira B. Hyde, who was a member of Congress in 1873. He continued this partnership at Princeton until 1915, and then changed his residence to Trenton, where he resided when he was elected Governor. In 1912 he was the candidate of the Progressive party for Attorney-General, but was defeated. His competitor for the Republican nomination for the office of Governor at the state-wide primary held in 1920 was Mr. E. E. McJimsey of Springfield, and in November he was elected by the largest majority ever given to any candidate for Governor.

During the regular session of the General Assembly in 1921 Governor Hyde urged the enactment of laws organizing all rural school districts in a county, except districts maintaining first-class high schools, into one county district, with a board of six members elected by the voters; and also laws consolidating the different state bureaus and departments into fewer departments. These measures were approved by the Legislature, but the most of them were referred by referendum petitions to the people for approval or rejection.

The same General Assembly also proposed to the people an amendment to the Constitution which would authorize it to enact a law directing the issuance of state bonds to the amount of fifteen million dollars to be used as a bonus or reward to Missouri soldiers who served honorably in the World War, in an amount not to exceed ten dollars per month for each month the soldier was in active service; and at a special election held on the second of August the amendment was overwhelmingly adopted, and then the Governor called a special session of the Legislature to enact the necessary laws for putting the amendment into force.

The same General Assembly proposed an amendment qualifying women to hold office, and making them eligible to election or appointment to any office in the State, and it too was overwhelmingly adopted at the same special election held in August. At that election the people also voted that a convention should be held to frame a new constitution for the State.

251. Conclusion.—The United States census taken in 1920 showed the population of Missouri to be 3,404,055, which was an increase in ten years of 110,720, or only 3.4 per cent. The increase in St. Louis had been 85,868, in Kansas City 76,029, and there were increases in twenty or more smaller cities, but elsewhere in the State there had been a decrease. In cities of 2500 inhabitants or more there had been an increase of 188,086, but in the rest of the State there had been a decrease of 77,366. It also showed that 46.6 per cent of the entire population now reside in such cities. The tendency of the people to concentrate in cities and towns has been going on for many years, in Missouri as well as in other states. But in spite of these decreases and changes in population Missouri still remains one of the finest commonwealths in the world. It has great natural resources in almost unlimited quantities. The soil is deep and fertile. There are lead, zinc and coal. There are great rivers. There are more than eight thousand miles of railroads. There are colleges and universities, and public schools in every community. Churches are within the reach of every one. And, what is more valuable than all these things, Missouri has a virile and wholesome people.

Questions on Chapter XXII.

1. Who were the candidates for Governor in 1892? (233)
2. What is said of the campaign? (233)
3. Give a sketch of the life of William J. Stone. (234)
4. What is said about the valuation of property in 1892? (235)
5. Read what is said about cyclones. (236)

6. What is said about the strike among railroad employees in 1894? (239)
7. Discuss the street railway strike in St. Louis and state how it was suppressed. (239)
8. Who was elected Governor in 1900, and by how much? (240)
9. What party carried the State in 1904? In 1906? (242)
10. What is said concerning the election in 1908? (242)
11. Give a sketch of Governor Hadley. (245)
12. What are three outstanding features of Governor Major's administration? (247)
13. In what condition did Governor Gardner find the State Treasury, and by what was it caused? (248)
14. How did he and the Legislature meet the situation? (248)
15. In what condition did Governor Gardner leave the Treasury? (248)
16. Name some notable laws enacted during his administration? (248)
17. Name the two amendments to U. S. Constitution ratified while he was Governor. (248)
18. What notable measure for building public roads was proposed and carried? (248)
19. Did Missouri do her part in the World War? (248)
20. What party carried the Nation and State in 1920? (249)
21. By what pluralities did President Harding and Governor Hyde carry the State? (249)
22. When did women first vote in Missouri? (249)
23. Give a biographical sketch of Governor Hyde. (250)
24. Name some laws whose enactment he urged. (250)
25. Name some constitutional amendments which were proposed and adopted. (250)
26. Read what is said in conclusion. (251)

INDEX TO HISTORY OF MISSOURI

(References are to the Section Numbers.)

- Adam-on-diahmon, 89.
Alabama, 55, 142.
Army of West, 101, 102.
Arsenal:
 at Liberty, 159;
 at St. Louis, 156, 160.
Ashley, William H., 64, 71, 79, 83.
Atchison, David R., 82, 114, 124, 127, 147.
Bank of Missouri, 50, 92.
Bank of St. Louis, 50.
Baptists, 202.
Barton, David, 59, 66.
Bates, Edward, 59, 149.
Bates, Frederick, 71, 72.
Battles, number of, 191.
Bay, W. V. N., 201.
Bell, John, 140.
Benton, Thomas H., 66, 67, 113-7, 124.
Big Blue, battle of, 190.
Bingham, Geo. C., 189.
Bits (money), 47.
Black Guard, the, 162.
Blair, Francis P., 102, 149, 157, 167, 202, 203, 209.
Blanchette, 10.
Bloody Hill, 177-79.
Bloody Island, 73.
Blue Lodges, 129.
Bogart, Capt. Samuel, 89.
Boggs, Lilburn W., 79, 83, 84, 89, 91.
Boone, Daniel, 39.
Boone, Nathan and Daniel, 38.
Boone's Lick, 38, 42.
Boonville, battle of, 169-72.
Bracito, 103.
Breckenridge, John C., 139, 140.
British and Indian attack, 19.
Broadhead, Jas. O., 149, 151, 153, 203.
Brooks, John S., 228.
Brown, B. Gratz, 149, 203, 207, 209.
Brown, John, 132.
Bull, Dr. John, 79.
Burnt District, 189.
Burr, Aaron, 30-31.
Business depressions, 50, 216.
Caldwell County, 86-89.
Calhoun, John C., 116.
Camp Jackson, 161-3.
Cannon, Franklin, 83.
Capital, State, 75.
Cardinal Springs, 19.
Carroll, Charles, 42.
Carthage, battle of, 173.
Catholics, 202.
Charcoals, 199.
Chihuahua, 104.
Cholera, 81.
Churches, 249.
Citizens, 60-64.
Clark, George Rogers, 19.
Clark, John B., 89, 93, 164, 169, 173, 177-9, 182.
Clark, John B., Jr., 190.
Clark, William, 33, 41, 64, 82.
Clay, Henry, 62, 100.
Claybanks, 199.
Cockrell, F. M., 212, 226.
Cole, Stephen and Hannah, 38.
Colleges, 249.
Compromise, Missouri, 58, 62, 127.
Conditional Union men, 148.
Confederate troops, 176, 192.
Constitution: First, 59; of 1865, 195-202; of 1875, 221-5.
Convention of 1861, 145-54, 180.
Cook, John D., 59, 69.
Cooper, Benjamin, 38.
Coronado, 2.
Counties, new, 66.
Cowdery, Oliver, 85, 90.
Cowherd, William S., 244, 247.
Crittenden, Thos. T., 186, 227.
Cruzat, 20.

- Cummings, 202.
 Curtis, General, 190.
 Cyclones, 236.
 Danites, 89.
 De Bourgmout, 7.
 Debt, imprisonment for, 96.
 Delassus, 22., 27.
 Delawares, 21.
 De Leyba, 19.
 De Soto, 1.
 De Witt, 88.
 Die Schwartz Garde, 162.
 Discoveries, 1-7.
 Disfranchising voters, 199.
 Dockery, Alex. M., 241-2.
 Doniphan, A. W., 82, 89, 90, 101-106, 164.
 Doniphan's Expedition, 101-106.
 Douglas, Stephen A., 140, 141.
 Draconian Code, 195, 202.
 Drake, Charles D., 195.
 Dryden, J. D. S., 201.
 Duels, 67, 73.
 Dunklin, Daniel, 79, 80.
 Dyer, D. Pat., 227.
 Earthquake, New Madrid, 35-37.
 Edwards, John C., 98, 99.
 Emigration Aid Companies, 128.
 Engler, Samuel, 183.
 Ewing, Robert C., 124.
 Ewing, Genl. H. S., 190.
 Ewing, Thomas, 189.
 Ex post facto law, 202.
 Far West, 87-89.
 Filley, O. D., 166.
 Finkelnburg, G. A., 224.
 Fire in St. Louis, 110.
 First settlement, 8.
 First white man, 1.
 Fisk, Clinton B., 190.
 Fletcher, Thomas C., 194, 196, 199.
 Florida, 26, 100.
 Flory, Joseph, 240.
 Folk, Joseph W., 242-3.
 Ford, Nicholas, 228.
 Fort Orleans, 7.
 Francis, David R., 231-2.
 Franklin, 42.
 Free negroes, 60.
 Fremont, John C., 138.
 French explorations, 2-5.
 French houses and lands, 16.
 Frost, General D. M., 135, 156, 158-63.
 Fugitive Slave Law, 133, 139.
 Fur trade, 48.
 Gallatin, 89.
 Gamble, Hamilton R., 151-2, 180, 193, 198.
 Gardenhire, James, 141.
 Gardner, Fred. D., 248.
 Gentry, William, 218.
 Germans, 136, 162.
 Geyer, Henry S., 117, 124.
 Glover, Samuel T., 149, 203.
 Gmelich, J. F., 244.
 Grange, the, 217-18.
 Grasshoppers, 220.
 Green, Duff, 59.
 Green, James S., 124, 147, 155.
 Guitar, Odon, 186.
 Gunn City, 212.
 Hadley, Herbert S., 244-5.
 Hall, Willard P., 102, 151, 180, 199, 203.
 Hall, William A., 153, 167.
 Halleck, General, 183-4, 187.
 Hardin, Charles H., 218-9.
 Hards and Softs, 98.
 Harney, General, 135, 156, 160, 166.
 Harris, Thomas A., 164.
 Harrison, Albert G., 83.
 Harrison, Wm. H., 28.
 Hempstead, Edward, 41.
 Henderson, John B., 151, 153.
 Hille r, J. C. A., 75.
 Hinkle, George W., 88-89.
 Holmes, Nathaniel, 201.
 Hough, George W., 113.
 Houses and lands, 45, 46.
 Howard, Benjamin, 40.
 Howard County, 38, 40.
 Hughes, Andrew S., 82.
 Humana, 2.
 Immigration, 44.
 Imprisonment for debt, 96.
 Independence, battle of, 190.
 Internal improvements, 120.
 Iowa Line, 111-2.
 Iron-clad oath, 197, 202, 207.
 Jackson, Camp, 161-3.
 Jackson, Claiborne F., 113-4, 141, 143-4, 147, 158, 163, 167, 182.
 Jackson, Congreve, 88.
 Jackson, Hancock, 124, 141.
 Jackson Resolutions, 113-4, 127.
 Jayhawkers, 132-5.

- Jefferson, Thomas, 26, 33.
 Johnson, Waldo P., 155, 221.
 Joliet, Louis, 2.
 Jones, John Rice, 59, 69.
 Kansas troubles, 127-135.
 Kennett, Luther M., 117.
 Kimball, E. E., 231.
 King, Austin A., 109.
 Kirksville tornado, 236.
 Krekel, Arnold, 195.
 Lacaff, Theo., 71.
 Laclede, 9.
 Lafayette, visit of, 74.
 La Salle, 3.
 Lawrence, Sacking of, 188.
 Lead, 8, 48.
 Legislature, deposed, 180.
 Legislature of 1861, 145.
 Lewis and Clark Expedition, 33.
 Lewis, Meriwether, 33, 40.
 Lewis, Robert, E., 237.
 Lexington, battle of, 181.
 Liberal Republicans, 207, 214.
 Lincoln, Abraham, 140, 163, 198.
 Little Blue, battle of, 190.
 Little Osage, battle of, 190.
 Local Option Law, 228-9.
 Locusts, 220.
 Louis XIV., 2, 3.
 Louisiana Purchase, 25-27.
 Lovelace, W. L., 201.
 Lucas, Charles, 67.
 Lucas, Samuel D., 89.
 Lyon, Nathaniel, 156-179.
 McBride, James H., 164, 177.
 McClurg, Joseph W., 204-5.
 McCulloch, Ben, 172, 175-7, 179.
 McKinley, John C., 246.
 McNair, Alexander, 59, 64, 65.
 McNeil, John, 190.
 Maine, 58.
 Major, Elliott W., 246-7.
 Manumission Day, 196.
 Marmaduke, John S., 171, 190, 228, 230.
 Marmaduke, Meredith M., 93, 97.
 Marquette, 2.
 Marshfield tornado, 236.
 Massachusetts, 128, 192.
 Matches, 123.
 Mexican War, 101-108.
 Military Bill, 145, 150, 163, 186.
 Militia, State, 186-7.
 Miller, John, 76, 83.
 Mill Port, 89.
 Missouri:
 admission into Union, 52-62;
 claimed by France, 3;
 Compromise, 58, 62, 127;
 District of Louisiana, 28;
 first Constitution, 59;
 name, 3, 41;
 population in 1800, 24; population
 in 1820, 51; population in 1850,
 136; population in 1870, 210;
 purchased from France by U. S., 26;
 resources, 249;
 transferred by France to Spain, 11;
 transferred by Spain to France, 25
 Money, 47, 50.
 Monroe, James, 26.
 Montgomery, James, 133-4.
 Mormon troubles, 84-91.
 Moss, James H., 153.
 Moss resolution, 153.
 Mulligan, James A., 181.
 Mullins, Maj. A. W., 186, 190.
 Muster Day, 95.
 Name "Missouri," 3, 41.
 Napoleon Bonaparte, 25-27.
 Napton, William B., 113.
 New Madrid claims, 37.
 New Madrid earthquake, 35-37.
 New Mexico, 102-3, 107-8.
 Newspapers, 32, 42, 86, 147-8, 113.
 Normal schools, 249.
 Norton, Albert D., 246.
 Nullification, 116, 139.
 Officers, ousted, 180, 199, 201.
 Onate, 2.
 Order No. 11, 189.
 Order No. 24, 183.
 Ousting ordinance, 199-201.
 Painter, William R., 244.
 Panic of 1873, 216.
 Parks, General H. G., 89.
 Parsons, Monroe M., 164, 168, 177.
 Patrons of Husbandry, 217-8.
 Patten, David, 89.
 Peace, 208, 210.
 Pea Ridge, battle of, 184.
 Penalosa, 2.
 Pens, steel, 123.
 Peyton, R. L. Y., 182.
 Phelps, John S., 98, 203, 204, 224-5.
 Phillips, John F., 186, 190, 203.

- Piernas, 14.
 Pike, Zebulon, 34.
 Pilot Knob, battle of, 190.
 Pioneer life, 45-48.
 Platte purchase, 82.
 Pleasanton, General, 190.
 Polk, Trusten, 124, 125.
 Pontiac, 13.
 Population: in 1800, 22, 24; in 1810, 51; in 1820, 51; in 1850, 136; in 1870, 210; in 1910, 246.
 Prairie fires, 78.
 Preachers, 202.
 Price, Sterling, 98, 101, 103, 118-9, 151, 164, 166, 167, 169-70, 176-79, 181, 185, 190.
 Price, Thomas L., 109, 175, 194.
 Price-Harney Agreement, 166.
 Price's Raid, 190.
 Purchase of Louisiana, 25-27.
 Quantrill, Wm. C., 188.
 Quivira, 2.
 Radicals, 199.
 Railroad bonds, 211-13.
 Railroads, 120-2, 211, 213.
 Rains, James S., 164, 172-3.
 Reed, James A., 226.
 Reeves, Benjamin, 59, 71.
 Registration Act, 203.
 Renault, S.
 Revenues, decrease in, 235.
 Reynolds, Thomas, 93, 96, 97.
 Reynolds, Thomas C., 145, 147, 180, 182.
 Richmond tornado, 236.
 Riddick, Thomas F., 59.
 Roads, toll, 120.
 Rollins, James S., 90, 109, 124.
 Sacs and Fox Indians, 19, 82.
 St. Ange, 12, 13.
 St. Charles, 10.
 Ste. Genevieve, 8.
 St. Louis:
 fire in, 110;
 settlement of, 9;
 tornado, 236.
 Santa Fe, 102, 107.
 Schofield, General, 177, 187.
 Schools, private, 249.
 Schurz, Carl, 203, 207, 209.
 Scott, John, 59, 68.
 Seal of State, 70.
 Secession, 142, 150, 152, 182.
 Settlements:
 Boone's Lick, 38;
 first, 8;
 first English, 32, 38;
 St. Charles, 10;
 St. Louis, 9.
 Shawnees and Delawares, 21.
 Shelby, Genl. Jo., 190.
 Sigel, Frantz, 170, 173, 177.
 Sisters of Charity, 202.
 Slack, W. Y., 164.
 Slavery, 52-62, 113-6, 127-8, 138, 196.
 Slaves, emancipation of, 206.
 Smith, Genl. A. J., 190.
 Smith, Joseph, 85.
 Smith, Thomas A., 41.
 Snead, Thomas L., 147, 167.
 Sobieski, John, 233.
 Soldiers, number of, 192.
 Solemn Public Act, 63.
 South Carolina, 142.
 Spanish Caravan, 6.
 Spanish explorers, 1-2.
 Spanish rule, 11-24.
 Spanish rulers:
 Cruzat, 20;
 Delassus, 22, 27;
 Piernas, 14;
 Trudeau, 22.
 Speer, A. A. 75.
 Standard, E. O., 204.
 State banks, 50, 92.
 Statesman, Columbia, 42.
 State University, 235, 249.
 Steamboats, 49.
 Steen, A. E., 164.
 Stephens, E. W., 75.
 Stephens, Lon V., 232, 237-9.
 Stewart, Robert M., 124, 126, 143.
 Stoddard, Amos, 27.
 Stone, William J., 226, 233-4.
 Strikes, 239.
 Sturgis, Major, 172, 177-8.
 Suffrage for Colored voters, 206.
 Talmage resolution, 56.
 Taos, 107.
 Teachers, 202.
 Test oath, 199, 202, 207.
 Texas annexation, 100.
 Tomatoes, 123.
 Tompkins, George, 69, 225.
 Tornadoes, 236.
 Trudeau, 22.

- Unconditional Union men, 149.
Van Dorn, General, 184.
Vest, George G., 226.
Wagner, David, 201.
Walbridge, Cyrus P., 242.
War:
 declared, 167;
 preparations for, 163-4.
Warner, William, 226, 233.
Watkins, Nath. W., 151, 164, 221.
Westport, battle of, 190.
Whigs 93, 94.
Whitmer, David, 85, 90.
Wilkinson, James, 30-31.
Williams, Abraham J., 71.
Williams, John F., 186.
Wilson, Robert M., 89, 151.
Wilson's Creek, battle of, 176-79.
Winston, James, 118.
Wood, William T., 82.
Woods, Rev. Sarchel, 88.
Woodson, Silas, 215.
Young, Brigham, 90.
Young, James, 98.

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